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FROM THE GIFT OF
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FOR BOOKS RELATING TO THE
THEATRE

In Preparation by the Same Author

Court Masques of Elizabeth

“ “ “ **Charles I.**

Milton's Minor Poems; Edited for High Schools

16714
187-178
624



Ambassadors whom Shakespeare was paid by the State to entertain; cf. *infra* 141.

Interior of old Somerset House, London, with Commissioners assembled to ratify a treaty between the Kings of England and Spain, and the Archdukes of Austria, August 18, 1604.

The English: on the right side, beginning from the window are (a) Thomas, Earl of Dorset, K. G., holding the Wand of Lord High Treasurer; (b) Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, K. G., who defeated the Spanish Armada; (c) Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, K. G., Lieutenant of Ireland; (d) Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the cinque-ports; (e) Robert Cecil of Essendon, Principal Secretary of State. *The Foreigners:* on the left, three for Spain, beginning from the window are (1) Juan de Velasco, Constable of Castile, Duke of Frias and Great Chamberlain to Philip 3rd of Spain; (2) Juan de Taxis, Count of Villa Mediana, Postmaster General, invested with the order of Santiago; (3) Alexander Rovidius, Senator of Milan. The rest represent the Austrians, Albert, brother of Rudolph, Emperor of Germany, and Isabella Clara Eugenia, Sister of the King of Spain, (4) Charles, Count of AreMBERG, Counsellor of State and Admiral. He wears the jewelled collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece; (5) Jean Grusset Richardot, President of the Council; (6) Louis Verreiken, Principal Secretary and Audiencary.

Painted by Marcus Gheeraedts, purchased from the Hamilton Palace Collection, July, 1882, and found in the National Portrait Gallery, London.


COURT MASQUES
OF JAMES I

THEIR INFLUENCE ON SHAKESPEARE
AND THE PUBLIC THEATRES

BY

MARY SULLIVAN, PH.D.
=

ILLUSTRATED

 G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
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1913

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John Craig*

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To

PROFESSOR AND MRS. C. W. WALLACE

INTRODUCTION

THIS work was undertaken under the generous inspiration of Professor and Mrs. C. W. Wallace, whose accomplishments in Shakespearean research seem, to their co-workers, little less than marvellous. Through them came the impetus to work over the store of already examined material in the British Museum, together with some of the millions of unsearched documents in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. Very interesting it is to come upon the handwriting of Elizabeth, James I, and other members of royalty, nobility, ambassadors, etc., found in letters and other documents. To lay hands, among these documents, on tangible things for specific helpfulness in particular plays is, however, not easy.

The masque is the form of Elizabethan dramatic literature upon which external influences had most apparent effect. Although masques were given in private, they were the most public literary productions of their time, because they were the form of literature most closely associated with the public acts of royalty and of men who were in the popular eye. The political, social, industrial, and religious conditions influencing masques, and influenced in turn by them, offer a large field for investigation, and deserve no less than very extended treatment. It seemed well, then, to limit the present work to a consideration of those masques produced at the Court of King James, under influences connected with international questions.

Research for material upon such masques opened up new avenues of investigation. New documents, yet unpublished, were found, involving Shakespeare and his company with the Royal Masquers, the nobility, and foreign ambassadors. Though no genuine scholar to-day gives serious heed to the old cry which held actors to be of low estimate or morals, in the time of Elizabeth and James I, nevertheless few realise how false was such a charge, or what essential instruments of state actors and producers of literature really were. Few, therefore, evaluate correctly the position occupied by "The King's Players," "Grooms of the King's Chamber," and teachers and assistants to royalty, in presenting masques. Of interest also are stage plans, of Inigo Jones and other architects, for masques and plays presented in the Court, arrangements of Court halls, seating of audiences, etc. All these things shed at least a tiny ray of light upon the comparative darkness which surrounds the Shakespearean stage. Consideration of all these questions is under way, but many of them, though interesting and tempting, are excluded from the present discussion, for want of room, and because they are extraneous to the main purpose of the present investigation.

As far as possible, the original documents have been allowed to tell their own story; therefore many have been admitted into the text as well as into the notes. A studied attempt has been made to keep these reproduced documents as nearly like the originals as modern printing and the condition of the documents themselves will permit. Where the originals are torn, or partly destroyed, bracketed matter supplies conjecturally what was lost. Aside from this no intentional change has been made in spelling, abbreviation, etc. A

bibliography of the original documents, which justify practically all the decisions of the present chapters, seems unnecessary since the documents themselves are included in the notes, with all the data necessary for finding them.

Acknowledgments are due to investigators of the masque, already in the field, particularly to M. Paul Reyher, Dr. A. Soergel, Dr. Rudolf Brotanek, and more especially to Dr. Albert Feuillerat for courtesies for which the author is very grateful. The ever ready helpfulness of those in charge in the British Museum, in the Public Record Office, and in offices of State, especially those in the offices of the Duke of Connaught, have made investigation not only easy but pleasant. The author wishes to express her gratitude to Superintendent Davidson formerly of Omaha and to Superintendent Graff whose influences secured a generous leave of absence; to Dr. Louise Pound and Dr. Jones, both of the University of Nebraska, for favours given not only on the present occasion but in the past. The assistance of Professor and Mrs. C. W. Wallace, and the continued patience and inspiration of Dean L. A. Sherman, are of such quality and character as to forbid any adequate expression of appreciation.

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Court Masques of James I

CHAPTER I

COURT MASQUES, 1603-1608—QUEEN ANNE THE CHIEF MASQUER—ASCENDENCY OF SPAIN

IT has been too much the custom for scholars of literature and history to treat these subjects as if they had no relation to each other. Those who gave most encouragement and assistance to the producers of literature, at least in the time of Shakespeare, were the chief social and political figures of the age.¹ In many cases, perhaps in most cases, their interest in literature had its inception in, was actuated by and involved with their political interest. But there is one species of literature of which this is especially true.

Those who have written on the masque have observed that an understanding and appreciation of this species of literature, more than of all others, depends upon a knowledge of the occasion upon or for which it was produced.² Yet no one has collected the materials

¹ See *infra, passim*, King James's encouragement of masques, etc.

² "In a word every masque is in its nature what the French call a *pièce d'occasion*; and no such piece can be thoroughly appreciated apart from the occasion itself." A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature* (1899), ii, 389.

"Car une étude sur le 'masque' en soi, isolé du milieu social, de la

which enable us to know these occasions. Consequently the high favour and importance of the masque at Court has been erroneously attributed to such merely subsidiary causes as a love of splendour, "gratification of aristocratic exclusiveness," the adulation of royalty, etc.¹

The real occasion for the production of all the greatest masques of the Jacobean Court lies as deep as the business of State.² When foreign ambassadors at the English Court officially insisted that a masque was a public action wherein one nation could not be favoured more than another without manifest testimony of bad faith to the nation neglected³; that a masque was a pub-

littérature, du drame, de l'art de l'époque, me fait l'effet d'un contre-sens et presque d'un non-sens." Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais* (1909), viii.

¹ "But the favour so widely extended to this kind of entertainments in the Jacobean age was chiefly due to other causes. These must be sought in the love of an elaborate and in a sense refined splendour which was characteristic of the times, and in the signal advance noticeable in them to the decorative arts, whose foremost representative, Inigo Jones, was gifted with a genius of rare versatility and force. In addition the circumstances under which the masques were ordinarily produced gratified that aristocratic exclusiveness, which sets the stamp upon fashionable success; while these entertainments furnished the great nobles and ministers, and other pillars and pilasters of the throne, with constant opportunities for extravagant adulation of a sovereign beyond the top of whose bent in this respect it was not easy to soar." A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature* (1899), ii, 390.

"Jacob I liebte Schaugepränge und wurde darin von seiner Gemahlin überboten, die gerade den Maskenspielen ihre Gunst gewährte, weil sie nie in der Englischen Sprache heimisch war, und ihnen den Stempel eines königlichen Vergnügens aufdrückte indem sie die erste Königin war, die selbst wirkend in ihnen auftrat. Der König aber war nicht allein prunkliebend, er war auch gelehrt, eine Eigenschaft, die eben so nothwendig war wie jene, um die Maske vollständig zu genießen und zu verstehen." Alfred Soergel, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, Halle Dissertations, 1882.

² See *infra, passim*, the occasion given for each of the Twelfthnight masques.

³ Cf. *infra*, 37.

lic spectacle and solemnity which would be seen by ten thousand persons who would publish to all Christendom the diplomatic significance of the Court's least action during its performance¹; when masques were held in one country to counteract or influence the diplomatic importance of a masque given in another²; when King James himself insisted that a masque was a diplomatic function, used to prove to a continental sovereign England's affection for him³; when prime ministers announced that deportment at a masque had a large influence in shaping a treaty of peace,⁴ it seems time to examine such masques in connection with the historic conditions with which they were associated, for the effect of the diplomatic bearing upon the literature of the masque and of other dramatic forms.

In a monarchy so personal as that of England under James,⁵ everything done by the monarch or by any of his family had a diplomatic as well as a social bearing, and in the case of the masque the diplomatic, under cover of the social, seems to have been of greatest significance. To know this significance, one must discover, with accurate historic detail, the diplomatic relations of the countries concerned.

When Elizabeth died, England, with the assistance of France, was making war upon Spain. James's succession was no sooner announced, than all Europe made especial effort to discover and influence the policy of

¹ Cf. *infra*, 38. ² Cf. *infra*, 52. ³ Cf. *infra*, 56. ⁴ Cf. *infra*, 58¹.

⁵ "Conceit of his office led James into thinking that nations have naught to do with high mysteries of State, which should be left to monarchs alone . . . the world was to be stilled by the marriage of a boy and a girl [Prince Charles, later Charles I of England, and the Infanta of Spain] and Emperor and Pope were to confine themselves within the bounds traced by the King of England." F. C. Montague, *History of England* (1907), 116.

the new administration. France and Spain, the two countries most concerned, were particularly active. Ambassadors vied with each other in giving rich and costly gifts to lords and ladies generally,¹ to the King's friends and advisers, to the royal family, and even to the King himself with the hope of gaining desired ends.² For like purposes they also gave elaborate dinners,³ plays,⁴ and other entertainments to those of high influence.

According to their own declaration, the efforts of France and Spain were part of a diplomatic struggle for the favour of the new King,⁵ through whose assistance each hoped to establish its own state supremacy in Continental Europe. The gifts, dinners, plays, etc., were but preliminary skirmishes, for England's open recognition, for which each was playing. If this open recognition could be secured in no other way, King James's choice of ambassadors for social favours would proclaim it in due time. The masques of the Christmas season were the Court's greatest social functions.⁶ To these, then, representatives of European powers looked for the announcement of England's attitude toward the

¹ See Appendix, 1.

² See Appendix, 2.

³ "The Spanish Ambassador invited Madame Beaumont, the French Ambassador's Lady to dinner, requesting her to bring some English Ladies with her, she brought my Lady Bedford, Lady Rich, Lady Susan (Vere), Lady Dorothy with her and great cheer they had. A fortnight after, he invited the Duke [of Lenox], the Earl of Mar and divers of that nation [Scotch], requesting them to bring the Scotch Ladies, for he was desirous to see some natural beauties. My Lady Anne Hay and my cousin Drummond went and after the weare presented, first with two pairs of Spanish gloves apiece—and after, my cousin Drummond had a diamond ring of the value of two hundred crowns given her and my Lady Anne a gold chain of links twice about her neck sent her." Lady Arabella Stuart to Shrewsbury, 8 Dec., 1603, in John Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, iv, 1060-1.

⁴ See *infra*, 26.

⁵ See Appendix, 2.

⁶ See *infra*, 8².

belligerents, as indicated through James's choice of ambassadors for first favours at the masques.

In the distribution of its social favours, the Court distinguished between countries of differing importance. In theory, an ambassador took the place of the King whom he represented, and therefore European sovereigns expected for their ambassadors the same social attentions which they should themselves claim, were they to visit the English Court.²

When an ambassador of first rank was to be entertained at a masque, the King's coach, with the master of ceremonies or some person of note, was sent to escort him from his place of residence to the palace.³ On arriving at the palace, he was assigned elaborate quarters until he should be taken to the dinner which preceded the masque.³ He was given a place at table according to the rank of his sovereign.⁴ After dinner he was "brought to retire himself" in elegant comfort.⁵ Shortly after the banquet, when the masque was in readiness, he was conducted either to the King's apartments or to some other convenient place of waiting, whence the King took him to the hall,⁶ where the masquers and audience had for some time been awaiting the royal entry. Lesser ambassadors, if any were invited, were also in the regal procession. Their respective positions about the King as they entered the hall announced to the assembly England's interpretation of the importance of each country represented.⁷ All were seated according to rank,⁸ and since, of course, there could be no two positions of equal pretensions, no ambassadors of equal importance could be invited

² See Appendix, 5 f. Cf. also 22 f.

³ See *infra*, 22 f.

³ See *infra*, 22 f.; also Appendix, 23 f. ⁴ See *infra*, 22 f. ⁵ See *infra*, 22 f. ⁶ See *infra*, 24; also 27⁵. ⁷ See *infra*, 24. ⁸ See *infra*, 24.

together.¹ To this circumstance, chiefly, we owe some of the best information we have concerning the masque.

During the performance, attentions to ambassadors from the King and members of the royal family varied according to the honour England wished to pay the country of each.² If the masque was given to show especial favour to some country, the King consumed the time of the entertainment in talking with the ambassador and showing him, before all the court, and other ambassadors, the most marked attention.³ The Queen "took him out"⁴ for the dance at the close of the masque. If his wife or members of his family or prominent friends were present, they were treated to especial notice by the Queen and Princes during the intervals of the masque and invited to dance with the royal masquers at the close.⁵ After the masque, if the occasion was of exceeding importance, the ambassador was feasted alone with the King at the King's own table.⁶ If not, he was accompanied by the King to the great banquet, which usually closed the evening's entertainment, and shown all honour during the feast.⁷

Such was the distinction given an ambassador of the first rank. Representatives of countries of lesser impor-

¹ "The like difpute was betwixt the French and y^e Spanish Ambafadors and hard hold for y^e greatest honor, w^{ch} y^e Spaniard thincks he hath caried away by being first feasted (as he was y^e first holy-day and y^e Polack y^e next) and inuited to the greatest mafke: and y^e French feems to be greatly difconcerted that he was flatly refuted to be admitted to the laft about w^{ch} he vied vnmanerly expostulaõñs wth the K: and for a few days troubled all the court, but the Q: was faine to take the matter vpon her who as a mafquer had inuited y^e Spaniard as y^e Duke before had done y^e French, and to haue them both there could not well be wth owt blud-fhed." Letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, vi, No. 21.

² See *infra*, *passim*.

³ See *infra*, 56.

⁴ See *infra*, 15 and 57.

⁵ See *infra*, 57.

⁶ See *infra*, 16.

⁷ See *infra*, Chap. IV.

tance were shown varying degrees of attention. A mere "agent" was permitted to find his own way, as best he could, to the palace. He was seated by order of the master of ceremonies, in the hall, where with other spectators he interested himself in the surroundings, until the coming of the King.¹ His presence was absolutely ignored by all members of the royal family and he was allowed to depart as he came.

Questions of precedence became at times matter for serious concern at the barriers, dinners,² and other entertainments. But if we trust the word of the French ambassador, no entertainment ever assumed such importance as a masque.³

Frequently the date of a masque or some other circumstance gave it unwonted importance.⁴ Any increased importance always increased the rivalry for invitation, for the greater the importance, the greater the honour of invitation. From very early times, it had been the custom of the court to do special honour to ambassadors from Continental powers by entertaining them with masques (or the varied form of entertainments, called mummings, disguisings, etc., which preceded masques proper), especially at the Christmas time.⁵

¹ See *infra*, Chap. III.

² See *infra*, 79 f.

³ See *infra*, 8 f.

⁴ See *infra*, Appendix, 5 f.

⁵ "In this yere [1401] was here the Emperour of Constantinople and the Kyng helde his Christenmasse at Eltham, and men of London made a gret mummyng to him of XII Aldermen & here sones, for which they had gret thanke." J. P. Collier, *The History of Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage* (1879), i, 26, from British Museum, *Harleian MSS.*, No. 565.

"On the XIIth day" (he says, speaking of the year 1489) "the ambassatours of Spayne dyned at the Kyngs borde, and the officers of armes had ther largess as they were accustomed." J. P. Collier, *v.s.*, i, 58, from British Museum, *Cotton MSS.*, *Julius, B.*, xii.

The greatest masquing night of all the year was Twelfthnight, Epiphany, or the Feast of the Three Kings as it was variously called.¹ This feast with its masque held the place of greatest honour in all the public court functions of the year.² Ranking next in importance, came the masques of Shrovetide (usually Shrove Tuesday, sometimes Shrove Sunday) and Candlemas. These were the big masquing dates around which almost all the great Court masques of the reign of James centred.³ The importance of the date,

“Trustye and welbeloued we grete you well. whereas the right excellent Prince King Henry vijth oure moft naturall and lovinge father whose fowl god pardõn by his late Trẽs comanded oure trusty and welbeloued S^r Andrew Windefere Knighte kep of a warrant for money d^e p^r mo henry vij^{ij} oure greate wardrobe to repaire vnto his grace for certain money to be Delyuered vnto him for certayne Pagents and garments and other things for diguyfing and Revells to be made agaynft the comyng vnto his highnes of thambassadors oute of fllanders w^{ch} as yet is not contented to the faide S^r Andrew,” etc. Public Record Office, Lord Chamberlain’s Department, *Class 5, Miscellaneous*, No. lxxxvi, 39.

¹ “Nay, if one would argumentize thereupon it might be alledged that the laft day should be taken for the greateft day, as it is underftood in many other cafes, and particularly upon the Festivalls of Christmas wherein Twelwe day or the Festivall of the three kings which is the laft is taken for the greateft day: and in many places Tuesday is taken for the chiefest day of Shrovetide; wherefore the Mask at Court, compos’d for that day as being the greateft of all the Festivalls.” Translation of a French letter from James I to the Ambassador of the Arch-Duke as it is found in John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, 8.

² “jour des festes de Noël selon la facon d’ang^e et le plus honorable tout pour la ceremonie qui l’y obserue de tout temps publiquement.” Beaumont to Henry IV, 13 [O. S. 3] Jan., 1603]4, in *British Museum, King’s MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 675. ³ See lists of masques in:

F. G. Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage* (1890), 179–83, 258–62.

Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais* (1909), 519.

Rudolf Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* (1902), 342.

A. E. Evans, *English Masques*, lx.

however, was at rare intervals relegated to second place by some circumstance or occasion of the masque itself.¹

The preliminary facts above stated enable us better to understand all masques. They give us a means of interpreting many of the references in masques and of explaining the attitude at masquing entertainments toward ambassadors resident at the English Court.

The first Christmas season in the reign of King James, 1603-4, was a holiday season of unusual magnificence. Thirty plays² and three masques, besides dinners and other forms of amusement, provided entertainment for the ambassadors.³ But Twelfthnight was given unusual prominence this year from the fact that the masque was to be "danced" by the new Queen and the ladies in highest favour about her.⁴ Moreover it was whispered about the Court that the Queen was "merely Spanish"⁵ and it was common knowledge, as

¹ See *infra*, 14.

² Though plays were frequently given in the Court and many of them of great interest and note, in no case do they seem to have assumed the social or political importance or the magnificent spectacular effect of a masque. Whether this is due to the professional character of the one and to the presence of royal and noble amateurs in the other is yet a matter for speculation.

³ "The court is like to Christmas at Windsor and many plays and shows are bespoken to give entertainment to our ambassadors." Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 27 Nov., 1603, O. S., in John Nichols, *The Progresses of King James the First* (1828), iv, 1059-60.

"Other stuff I can send you none from this place where now we are to feast seven ambassadors; Spain, France, Poland, Florence and Savoy besides masks and much more." Cecil to Shrewsbury 23 Dec., 1603, O. S., in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History* (1838), iii, 82.

⁴ Gifford, whose errors are too numerous to be given space here, has overlooked this masque and placed Queen Anne's first entertainment in the coming year. See *The Works of Ben Jonson*, notes and memoirs by William Gifford, edited by Frances Cunningham (1903), iii, 2.

⁵ "Let me tell you in your ear without offence, she [the Queen] is merely Spanish." Levinus Muncke to Mr. Winwood 29 October, 1605,

certain correspondence¹ and the sequel of this masque² show, that she was well disposed toward the representative of "His Catholic Majesty."³ The diplomatic problem for solution concerned the disposition of the Low Countries. If it seems strange that the solution of so serious an international problem should hinge upon an affair of such seeming trivialness as a masque, one needs only to remember England's unwillingness under Elizabeth and James to declare her policy and the instability of any Continental combination which ignored her existence or disregarded her wishes.

During the last years of Elizabeth's reign, when England was waging war upon Spain, there was, of course, no ambassador at the English Court to dispute the French claims to the honours of Twelfth-night. Should England, under the new administration, continue Twelfthnight honours to France, Continentals, in their jealous efforts to ascertain the new King's attitude, would seize upon the event as an indication of policy. Such friendliness would be interpreted to mean a continuance of England's hostile alliance with France and the Low Countries against Spain. If Spain won first place at the Queen's masque, prepared for Twelfthnight, it would indicate that the Low Countries must seek new allies, in new Continental combinations, and European leagues must change. Masques of other dates were important; but they served rather as a means to entertain those who

O. S., in Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of the Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I.* (1725), ii, 155.

¹ See *infra*, Appendix, 23.

² See *ibid.*

³ It is commonly known that though several of the European sovereigns were Catholics, the King of Spain was usually referred to in the documents of the time as "His Catholic Majesty," while the King of France was known as "His most Christian Majesty."

could not be entertained at the great annual Twelfth-night masque.¹

Invitations to the masques were secured through the solicitations of the ambassadors themselves.² For the great event of the Queen's masque on Twelfth-night, 1603-4, there was sharp rivalry between Beaumont the French Ambassador and Juan de Tassis the Ambassador from Spain. The preliminary skirmishes have been already suggested.³ James's ministers found difficulty in attempting to manage the invitations without committing the King to the cause of either.⁴ Three masques, as we have seen,⁵ were in process of preparation. *A Masque of the Knights of India and China*, to be given by the Duke of Holst, was planned for the night of January first. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, prepared especially for the Queen by Samuel Daniel, was appointed for Twelfthnight. For the third, I am unable to find a date determined upon in the preparations, but a masque of Scots was given to mollify France as we shall see.⁶

Beaumont was made the guest of honour at the *Masque of the Knights of India and China*, which was especially prepared for him. He had good reason to feel as he watched the "mafke brought in by a magicien from China" and heard the eulogy of England⁷ that he was doing all he could both publicly and "vnderhand to diueste vs [English] from makinge Pease wth; Spaine."⁸

¹ See *infra*, 22 f.

² See Appendix, 4 *et passim*.

³ *Supra*, 4.

⁴ This was probably in the hands of Salisbury, assisted by the Council.

See *infra*, 39^a.

⁵ *Supra*, 9.

⁶ *Infra*, 14.

⁷ See Appendix, 3.

⁸ "All the ambassadors were feasted at Courte this Xpimas first the Spanish and Sauoyan 2 the french and florentine 3 the Poloman and Venetian and all highly pleased but the french who is malecontent to see the Spaniard fo kyndly vsed and it is plainly perceued that he and

If some of his contemporaries are to be believed, his eyes opened wide with surprise when King James took advantage of the big function to advertise his own wealth and popularity to the French King by having one of the masquers present him with a pretended gift—a “Jewell of £40,000 value” (between \$200,000 and \$300,000 of our money to-day) which James had already purchased.²

Beaumont saw the byplay with the “colt of Buephalus race”³ and expressed his appreciation of the magnificent spectacle produced as the gold-embroidered, crimson satin robes of the masquers³ blended with the elegant costumes of the Queen⁴ and her ladies in the intricate steps of the dance. But the Spaniard, who was not invited to this first masque, was planning surprises for him, of deeper significance than those the Chinese magician had so elaborately prepared.

That the French Ambassador got some clue concerning the nature of one of those surprises, is indicated in his answer to an invitation to dine at the Court on the following Sunday night, January eighth.⁵ This dinner, designed to give especial satisfaction to France, was to take place in the exclusive privacy of the King’s own chamber, no other guest to share the privilege. But

the florentine and in some sort the Venetian labour all they can Vnderhand to diueste vs from makinge Pease wth Spaine.” Calendared as letter from Ortelio Renzo to Geo. Ant. Frederico, 31 Jan., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 37.

² See Appendix, 4.

³ Appendix, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ “Theyr attire was rich but fomewhat too heavy and cumberfome for dancers w^{ch} putt them besides ther galliardes. They had loofe robes of crimfen fattin embrodered wth gold and bordered wth brood filuer laces, dublets and bafes of cloth of filuer; bufkins fwordes and hatts alike and in theyr hats ech of them an Indian bird for a fether wth fome Jewells.” Letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I* (1604), No. 21. ⁶ Appendix, 4.

Beaumont says he deferred accepting the dinner until he could satisfy himself concerning a matter which held him in suspense. So he sent word to King James that he saw the artifice of some of the Court, who thought by inviting him to the first masque to reserve for the badly founded claims of Spain the greater privileges of Twelfthnight—the night always selected for the greatest of all the public ceremonies of the Court of England. He remonstrated against the injury done to the King of France, if Spain should be accorded an honour which would proclaim for that country a pre-eminence, heretofore the undisputed right of France.¹ The English King answered that the French pre-eminence was undisputed. But, in this case, James pleaded, he was in trouble, since the Queen, his wife, greatly desired the Spanish Ambassador's presence at her masque.²

This threw the burden of responsibility upon the Queen, with whom, as well as with the King and prominent members of the nobility, there were frequent meetings and long consultations.

The stormy protests of the Frenchman brought finally a proposal for a compromise in which Beaumont was advised that both men might appear as private individuals, if they chose. Angered at this evidence of successful artifice in behalf of Spain, and by conviction of his own defeat, Beaumont sent word to King James

¹ "Que jamais les ambassadeur d'espagne navoient disputé lapreminance contre ceux de France." *Ibid.*

² "Aquoy il me repondit que quant au point principal dela préeminence je ne fisse aucune jeune rencontraise avec l'ambassad' d'espagne en sa presence il meme donnast la main droite, Que pour ce fait particulier dont je luy parloir il se trouvoit en peine d'autant que la Reine sa femme eut bien desiré que l'ambassadeur d'espagne se fut trouvé en son Ballet." *Ibid.*

that if the Spaniard presumed to appear with him to dispute his position at the masque, he would kill him at the King's feet at the risk of his own life.¹

Finally Beaumont was outwitted by a second artifice. He based his right to be present at the Queen's masque on the French claim to the exclusive privileges of Twelfthnight. After much consultation, following his insistent pretensions, the letter of the French demand was granted. The Queen's masque was postponed to January eighth and Beaumont was invited for Twelfthnight to a dinner, running at the ring, a play, a masque of Scots (to whom his instructions required him to profess attachment), and the ordinary refreshments of comfits given there after.² The French Ambassador, feeling that it was unwise to make further protest, determined to conceal his chagrin by accepting the invitation and making the best of it.

Juan de Tassis having been "solemnly invited"³ for January eighth, attended the magnificent *Masque of the Twelve Goddesses* and sat under the canopy called the "State" at the right hand of the King. He received

¹ "Que neantmoins f'il étoit si outre cuidé al'espagnol que derieu pretendre en cette rencontre Sur ma place que je le tuerois à Ses pieds au hazard de ma vie." Letter from M. Beaumont to the King of France, 23 Jan., 1604, in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

² "The twelfe-day the French Ambafsador was feasted publikely; and at night there was a play in the Q^es prefence wth a mafquerado of certaine Scotchmen who came in wth a fword not vnlike a matachin, and performed it clenly." Carleton to Chamberlain in *State Papers Domestic James I*, 1604, No. 21.

"Je me resolu puisques aussibien le jour dela ceremonie me demourant libre jeue pouvois protester justement in pretendre dêtre jnjurée. . . ."

"et ainsy je mangeay avec luy, la Reine et Monsieur le Prince de Galles courus la Bagne apres diné assisté tout le soir a vn Ballet d'ecossois et au festin de confitures." Beaumont to French King, 23 Jan., 1604, in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

Cf., *infra*, 22 f.

³ See Appendix, 10.

the most complimentary attentions from James. In the royal company he saw the "yong Prince" in the "galliardes and carantoes" "tost from hand to hand like a tennis bal."¹ He applauded the masquers, chief among whom "Pallas (which was the person her Majesty chose to represent) was attired in a blue mantle, with a silver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war with a helmet dressing on her head."²

He must have noted with the others all the splendour and all the scandal, all the good points and all the faults of her upon whom all eyes were turned, "Pallas," who "had a trick by herself for her clothes were not so much below the knee but that we might see a woman had both feete and legs w^{ch} I never knew before. she had a pair of bufkins sett wth rich ftones, a helmett full of Jewells, and her whole attire embosfed wth Jewells of feuerall fashions."³

At the close of the masque, he was "taken out"⁴ by Lady Bedford, Queen Anne's greatest favourite,⁵ to

¹ "For galliardes and carantoes they went by discretion, and the yong Prince was tost from hand to hand like a tennis bal. The La: Bedford and La: fusan tooke owt the two ambalsadors; and they beftirred themselfe very liuely: speceally the Spaniard for the Spanish galliard shewed himself a lusty old reueller." Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

² See *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, by Samuel Daniel, in H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (1898), 4.

³ Letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

⁴ "After this the maskers danced their own measures, which being ended, and they are ready to take out the Lords, the three graces sang." *Vision of Twelve Goddesses*, by Samuel Daniel, in H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (1898), 15.

⁵ "I hear of none she [Queen Anne] hath admitted to her Privy chamber or in place near her save the La: Bedford who was sworn of the Privy-chamber in Scotland." Letter from Carleton to Thos. Parry, 28 Jan., 1603, in John Nichols, *Progresses*, i, 190.

whom the masque of the evening was dedicated.¹ There, as his beautiful red gown mingled with the sky-blue,² the sea-green,³ and the other striking costumes of the "Goddefses" "who did theyr parts,"³ he gave such satisfaction that the English Court, in which he had been the centre of attraction for the evening, pronounced him "a lusty old reveller."⁴ In richness of costume, in the sympathies of the audience, and in gracefulness, the commendations of the crowd gave him second place only to "Pallas" who "of all for goode grace and goode footemanship—bare the bell away."⁵ But she who "bare the bell away" did not think it beneath her to wear a scarf and a red belt ("banderolle") in honour of the Spanish Ambassador for whom Beaumont reports the whole fête was given. Before the eyes of all the Court and of all the representatives of foreign nations, de Tassis thus advertised the good feeling between Spain and England. The King closed the entertainment by taking the Spaniard with him to a banquet at his own table in his private chamber contrary to a promise he had made the French on this point.⁶

While de Tassis was so brilliantly advertising the success of the Spanish cause in the English Court, while politicians were speculating that "ye French seems to be greatly discontented that he was flatly refused to be admitted"⁷ to the Queen's masque,

¹ See *Vision of Twelve Goddesses*.

² See H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (1898), 3-5.

³ See Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

⁴ See Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21, *supra* 15¹.

⁵ See *ibid.*

⁶ See Appendix, 6.

⁷ See Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

Beaumont was reporting every detail even to the matter of the red gown and the Spanish favours worn by the Queen, to the French Court, and asking for instructions as to his future procedure.¹ His attitude toward the Christmas entertainment, including his threat against the Spaniard's life, was not the result of sudden temper or mere personal enmity as has been erroneously supposed.²

Ambassadors were mere figureheads through whom the intricate game of European politics was played. When invitations to the masques were issued to them, it was stipulated that these invitations had for their purpose the honouring of the kings their masters,³ and when the ambassadors accepted such invitations it was in the name of their sovereigns.⁴ These men were in perfect touch with the governments they represented and followed the minute instructions sent them,⁵ or suffered the serious consequences of the slightest deviation. It was dangerous business to tamper with

¹ See Appendix, 6.

² "The reception of ambassadors, however, who had hastened to congratulate the King on his accession was not unattended we shall find with those petty jealousies and continual bickerings in which representatives of foreign courts seem to have spent most of their time." Ernest Law, in his edition of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1880), Introduction, 10-11.

Cf. also *supra*, 2¹.

³ See Appendix, 51 *et passim*.

⁴ See *infra*, 79 *et passim*.

⁵ See *infra*, 51 f.

See the conduct of Boderie, successor to Beaumont, who sent couriers express to France for instructions concerning the masque of 1608, refusing to act in any detail on his own initiative. Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 8-13.

"je lui porterois tout le respect quil me seroit possible au nom de votre majesté, maisque les Princes pouvoient se relascher a des choses qui m'estoient ni licites ni convenables a leurs ministers." Beaumont to Henry IV, 23 Jan., 1604 in *King's MSS.*, cxiv, f. 706. See also *King's MSS.*, cxiv, f. 6 5-6.

or blunder in the complicated international difficulties of the time and at least one ambassador to the English Court, during the reign of James I, narrowly escaped with his life for such an error.¹

In the case just under discussion, the French Court was notified as early as October, 1603, of the coming event of the Queen's masque, then in process of preparation.² A long letter from Beaumont, 13 (O. S. 3) Jan. 160(3)-4, warned Henry IV of the coming struggle over the invitations to the masque.³ Again, some five days after the close of the Christmas entertainment, the French Ambassador reviewed the entire situation in letters, one to Henry IV and one to his Prime Minister, recounting all the events of the preceding week with their diplomatic bearing, and asking for an expression of the attitude of the French King and his Council toward his procedure.⁴ King Henry answered these inquiries on the second of February (22 Jan. O. S.), following, commending Beaumont for the manner in which he had represented him and had obeyed his orders.⁵

¹ See, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, p. xlvii, lii; xiv *passim*; xv *passim*, for the persecution of Antonio Foscarini (who had been Ambassador in England) unjustly charged with unfaithfulness to the Venetian cause. His trial was held before the *Council of Ten* and he was acquitted by a vote of eight to seven only.

² See *King's MSS.*

³ See *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 675.

⁴ *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706. To the King. The letter to Villeroy, not quoted, contains nothing not included in the letter to the King except the request quoted below: "en toute verité comment la Majesté et Mess^{rs} de son conseil auront approuvé ma procedure." *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 716. Beaumont to Villeroy, 23 [O. S. 13] Jan. 160[3]-4.

⁵ "Monsieur Beaumont: . . .

Vous avez tres dignement et a mon contentement accompli les commdemens que je vous avois faits par mes precedentes." King Henry IV to Beaumont, 2 Feb., 1604 [O. S., 22 Jan., 1603] in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 727. Despite this commendation Boderie later points

Beaumont, though he tried to make the outlook as hopeful as he could, confessed himself and his country vanquished, outlined advices of changed policies to meet changed conditions, and received in exchange directions to placate Queen Anne (who had been found to be somewhat of a power in the new administration), to encourage her husband to bring restraint to bear upon her and also to impress upon her,¹ if possible, the injury done to the reputation of her person and of the state by her favours to the Spanish Ambassador.²

The entire matter of the Christmas masques, 1603-4, as detailed in the preceding pages was concerned with the peace which Spain was attempting to make,³ and all the important powers of Europe were involved,⁴ but the other Continental powers were so dependent upon France and Spain and so overshadowed by them that it is only occasionally that they are mentioned in the correspondence of the time, so far as it has been examined for the present treatment.⁵ For example the presence of the "Polack" Ambassador with the Spaniard at the Queen's masque is mentioned by Carleton without comment.⁶

out that Beaumont erred diplomatically in accepting the invitation for the masque of Jan. 1, 1603-4.

¹ See Appendix, 7.

² See Appendix, 8 and 9.

³ *Supra*, 3, 9^s, 11^s *et passim*.

⁴ See Appendix, 10.

⁵ The correspondence of the ambassadors of lesser powers as Florence, Savoy, Denmark, Holland, the Netherlands, the German states, Norway, Sweden, etc., must be carefully considered before the final word can be said concerning the significance of their presence at English Court masques. Little of this correspondence has been accessible for the present treatment.

⁶ "The fouday following [Jan. 8, 1604, N. S.] was the great day of the Queen's masque at which was present the Spanish and Polack Ambassadors wth their traynes and the most part of the Florentines and Savoyards; but not the ambassadors themfelfs, who were in so strong competition for place and precedence that to displeafe nether it was

In the case of the Queen's masque, the most important minor quarrel concerned the respective rights of the ambassadors of Florence and Savoy.¹ To avoid displeasing either by settling the "contention for precedence" between them it was thought best to invite neither, though their trains were admitted as spectators.²

The months following James's first Christmas in England brought small comfort to the French who saw the achievement of the Spanish wishes in the treaty of August 18, 1604. At the coming Christmas festivities, 1604-5, however, the French hoped to retrieve some of the prestige lost during the first holidays, and the year. The season was to be opened by a Court masque given in honour of the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere, on December 27, 1604.³ The preference of the English Court for one person rather than for another in the capacity of a private individual did not seriously concern the world. But preference for an ambassador advertised friendly relations with the country

thought best to lett both alone." Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, O. S., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

¹ "The ambassadors of Sauoy and florenze were heare at great contention for precedence and our King could not accomodate it or at least would not, and by that occasion I suppose the Sauoyan made the less staye, beyinge goen from hence about 16 dayes past or rather more." Letter of Ortellio Renzo, 31 Jan., 1603/4, O. S., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 37.

² *Supra*, 19⁶.

It was quite the customary thing to invite the followers of an ambassador as mere spectators, even when the Ambassador was not invited. They were given a place usually in "scaffolds" built for their accommodation above the King. Ordinarily they were admitted promiscuously for the occasion, but at times when feelings of bitterness ran high between countries, to avoid contention or open rupture, separate scaffolds were erected or some division made to separate the contingents. Ambassadors were thus enabled to get from their followers a complete report of the evening's entertainment. ³ See Appendix, 11.

he represented. To avoid expressing such preference, therefore, the King invited both the French and Spanish ambassadors to this first masque as private individuals.²

The invitation to Beaumont was accompanied by the explanation that the Spanish Ambassador was pleased to be present at this masque, and that therefore neither man could be invited in his official capacity.³ Beaumont found this invitation offensive because it subordinated him to the Spaniard. Moreover he feared lest his acceptance of the invitation to the first masque might, as on the former occasion, prejudice his invitation to the Queen's masque again arranged for Twelfth-night.³ So he begged to be excused from attending, explaining to the King that he was so ill as to be unable to be out for a fortnight. As appears later, this illness was the common form of regret offered to excuse the absence of an ambassador from a masque where his presence would not coincide with his diplomatic plans.⁴

The English social obligation to the two chief ambassadors being removed by the pretended illness of the one and the acceptance of a private invitation by the other, the way was open for showing special favour to the Venetian Ambassador, who represented the power of next importance.⁵ He was invited to attend the

² This meant that they should come dressed in the costume of their countries, usually disguised (see *infra*, 25 *et passim*) to prevent any embarrassment by confusion of the individual and the ambassador. They sat among their trains and received no recognition from the Sovereign or from any member of his family. They were merely spectators, not invited guests, for whose entertainment, no one assumed serious responsibility.

²⁻³ Appendix, 11.

⁴ See *infra*, 78², Appendix, 51 *et passim*. See also Appendix, 11.

⁵ The fight between France and Spain for Continental supremacy, later involving not only the Low Countries but Bohemia and the German states, made Venice a power of importance because of its location. The

wedding dinner, the supper, and the masque. On the day appointed he was brought to the palace where he was received with gratifying attentions and seated in the place of honour, opposite the Prince at the bride's table. Although the King was evidently courting the good will of Venice in all this, an unfortunate circumstance threatened for a time to thwart his purposes. This is so well told by the Venetian Ambassador in his official report to the Doge and Senate, that it seems well to give his version of it here just as it stands.

The eve of the Epiphany, St. Stephen's day, old style, Sir Lewis Lewknor, the receiver of Ambassadors, visited me to tell me in his Majesty's name that the next day the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert (arber) Groom-of-the-Chamber and prime favourite of his Majesty would be celebrated at Court. Sir Philip is brother of the Earl of Pembroke, who is married to a niece of Secretary Cecil. The King invited me to be present and in the name of the couple begged me to honour their wedding. I replied that I felt highly flattered and would attend. I asked if any other ambassadors were to be invited; Sir Lewis replied that if they came at all it would be incognito, so as to avoid all quarrel about precedence. I asked if I was to dine at the King's table; he said that detail was not yet settled, but that when he came to fetch me next morning he would tell me. This he did, and informed me that the King and Queen would dine in their own private apartments, and I would sit at the bride and bridegroom's table along with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Holstein. I enquired as to the arrangement of the guests and Sir Lewis said the bride would take the head of the table, the Prince on her right, I opposite and the Duke next to me; the rest of the

state which succeeded in holding Venice in its power, or in having that country as a friend, had an excellent gateway through which to attack or support the inland territories.

table would be filled with the Lords of Council and Court Officials and their wives. This seemed to me a position sufficiently honourable for your Serenity's ambassador, so I went to Court. After the service we took our places at table in the order explained. I could see that the Duke of Holstein was rather put out. After the banquet was over, and very sumptuous it was, everyone retired to his own apartments till the servants had prepared the room for dancing till suppertime. But so great was the crowd that dancing was out of the question, and so everybody kept his room till supper. As suppertime approached someone said to me that the crush was so great that he feared they would not be able to serve it. Presently someone said that the bride had taken her place, but such was the confusion that many guests had left. While I was waiting for the Chamberlain to conduct me to table, as he had done in the morning, I heard that the bride and the Prince were seated and that the Duke had got my place. I had just sent one of my suite to see whether it was true, when Sir Lewis arrived in a passion, swearing that he would go and find out what the Chamberlain meant by neglecting to conduct me to table; at that moment the Chamberlain himself appeared and begged most earnestly to be pardoned, as the error was great, it was true, but it had happened through inadvertence. I replied that such errors were easily pardoned, but that I feared this was a ruse; and anyway in order to avoid being exposed to further mistakes, I intended to go home. He implored me to wait till he had spoken to the King. I consented, but informed him positively that I would not attend the masquerade unless my place of the morning was secured for me. Meantime they served me supper in Cecil's rooms; and presently there came thither Sir (Roger) Aston, gentleman-in-waiting to the King, to beg me in his Majesty's name to excuse the occurrence and to believe that it was entirely due to the crowd and confusion, and to say that he was waiting for me in his own rooms to take me with him to the mas-

querade. I replied that I thanked the King, but that I was waiting an answer from the Chamberlain as to certain questions I had addressed to him. The Chamberlain shortly after appeared and said the King was still waiting for me, and assured me that I should have my place. I accordingly went at once to the King's rooms which I found full of ladies and the Lords of the Council. They one and all begged me not to take in bad part what was the result of pure accident, as I should presently be convinced. At this moment their Majesties left their rooms; I bowed to them, and the King took me by the hand and walking towards the hall, where the masque was prepared, he said that in such a confusion it was impossible to avoid some such accident but that I might rest assured that his intention was to do all honour to the representative of the Republic. I replied that the affection which the Republic bore to his person merited the regard he felt for her. With this we reached the hall of the masque: the Duke of Holstein walking in front uncovered. We entered a box by five or six steps; in it were two chairs; the King took one the Queen the other, a stool was prepared for me on the King's right, and another for the Duke on the Queen's left but he would not sit down; he preferred to stand uncovered, for the three hours the masque and *ballo* lasted. This has convinced me that the mistake was really an accident, or at least was not within the cognisance of his Majesty. If I had left the scene at once as I at first intended, I should not have discovered his Majesty's real feelings, nor demonstrated them to the whole court. London 12th January 1604 [5].¹

This masque of the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere has not come down to us. The text, author, and title are still unknown, but Carleton

¹ Letter from Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 206.

tells his friend Chamberlain that the masquers were among the biggest men about the Court.

Theyre conceit was a repretentaon of Junoes temple at the lower end of the great hall, w^{ch} was vawted and within it the maskers feated wth ftaves of lights about them, and it was no ill fhew. they were brought in by the fower seasons of the yeare and Hymeneus: w^{ch} for fongs and fpeaches was as goode as a play. Theyre apparel was rather costly then cumly; but theyr dancing full of life and variety; onely Sr Tho: Germain had lead in his heales and fometimes forgott what he was doing.

Carleton also notes the incident which Molin narrates in such detail. He says:

The Venetian Amb: was there present, and was a wedding guest all the day; but one thing he tooke ill and not wthowt caufe that being brought after diner to the clofet to retire himself he was there forgotten and fuffered to walke owt his fupper w^{ch} he tooke afterwards privately in my L^d of Cranborns chamber.¹

The Spanish Ambassador was not of course, present at the dinner or supper, but attended the masque privately as invited "and fate among his men disguised."²

On the Thursday following, "the Spaniard made a

¹ Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604-[5] in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6.

² "The Spanish Amb. was there likewise but disguised." Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 Jan., 1604-[5], O. S., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, qii, No. 6.

"He [Spanish Ambassador] was privately at the first mask and fate among his men disguised." Carleton to Winwood, Jan., 1604-[5] (no day given), in Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Elisabeth and King James I*, (1725), ii, 44.

For the custom of wearing masks by people who wished to attend a public function in a private capacity cf. *infra*.

folemne diner to the D: of Holst and the greatest part of the Court. The Ladies he presented wth fans and gloves, and ended his entertainment wth a play and a banquet."¹

The Masque of Blackness, written under the Queen's direction by Ben Jonson,² followed on Twelfthnight.³ Though Beaumont and his country made every attempt to secure the coveted invitation to this masque, the Court seems to have intended to follow the same plans as in the case of the marriage masque and to invite the ambassadors to come "as private men to a private sport."⁴ It will be remembered that in the preceding year the Court yielded to the French claim to Twelfth-night privileges without granting the spirit of the claim.⁵ Beaumont had no instructions to forego the claim or to admit equality with the Spanish Ambassador by going to the present masque in the same rank with him. He had, however, previously given out the story

¹ Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604-[5] O. S., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6. For the probable significance of this cf. *supra*, 3-8.

² See Ben Jonson, *Works*, notes and memoirs by Wm. Gifford, edited by F. Cunningham (1903), iii, 3.

³ See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 212.

⁴ "At night we had the Queen's maske in the Banqueting Houfe . . . The Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors were both present and fate by the King in fteate; at which Monsieur Beaumont quarrels so extremely that he saith the whole court is Spanish: But by his favour he should fall out with none but himself for they were all indifferently invited to come as private men to a private sport; which he refusing the Spanish Ambassador willingly accepted and being there, seeing no cause to the contrary he put off *Don Taxis* and took upon him *El Señor Embasadour* wherein he outftript our little monfieur." Carleton to Winwood, January, 1604-[5], in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, 44.

⁵ See *supra*, 14, also 14*.

of his "illness"¹ and had failed to announce his recovery. This circumstance removed the question of precedence and enabled de Tassis through "vigorous representations at Court to secure for himself" the coveted invitation.

Not until January sixth, the day of the masque, were the invitations issued.² It was then too late for Beaumont to correct his blunder. Conscious of his own mistake and angry that the Spaniard had profited by it, he abused the Master of Ceremonies, sent from the King on behalf of his Majesty to "enquire how the Ambassador was, and to say how much his Majesty, regretted" that the ambassador's illness prevented him "from attending the Queen's masque."³

Whether the King was really imposed upon by his officers in securing the invitation for Spain, as was alleged³ or whether he was glad of the excuse to show favours to Spain, is not certain. The Spanish Ambassador was not only invited "to go publicly"⁴ to *The Masque of Blackness* and permitted to hear the praises of "Britania" in all his ambassadorial glory at the right hand of "Albion"⁵ (James I) under the state, but when the "azure and silver"⁶ clad, masquers, "danced with their men several measures and corantos"⁷ "he was taken out to dance and footed it like a lufy old gallant

¹ See *supra*, 21.

² *Supra*, 26¹.

³ See Appendix, 12.

⁴ "In obedience to his orders he [Lewkenor] came on to tell me that I was to go publicly to Court. He did not find me in, but left a message that I was to be at the Spanish Ambassador's house at the fourth hour of the night, and go together to the Court. This was done and we were conducted to the King's chambers, where his Majesty appeared about the seventh hour, and moved on to the place where they gave the masque, which was very beautiful and sumptuous." *Ibid.*

⁵ Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 7. ⁶ Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 4.

⁷ Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 7.

with his country woman. He took out the Queen and forgot not to Kifs her hand though there was danger it would have left a mark on his lips."²

If he felt that the masquers with their "black faces and hands w^{ch} were painted and bare up to the elbowes, was a very lothfome fight," it did not appear. No one observed it if he approved of the sentiment of one Englishman who failed to appreciate the heavy expense and who was "fory that ftrangers should see owr court fo ftrangely difguifed."²

He saw the "landtschap"³ in which "The indecorum was that there was all Fifh and no water,"⁴ He saw the unruly crowd in which "The confufion in getting in was fo great, that fome Ladies lie by it and complaine of the fury of the white ftafes."⁵ He must have known that "In the pafsages through the galleries they were fhutt up in feveral heapes betwixt dores and there ftayed till all was ended."⁵ He could fcarcely have failed to see the crush when "in the cumming owt a banquet w^{ch} was prepared for the K: in the great chamber was overturned table and all before it was fkarce touched."⁵ He must have known too of "what lofses there were of chaynes, Jewels, purces and fuch like loofe ware,"⁵ but none of those things were important in the face of what he had achieved.

In the presence of all the Court and of all the repre-

² Letter from Carleton to Winwood, January, 1604-[5], in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, 44.

³ Letters from Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604-[5], in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6.

⁴ Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 3.

⁵ Letter from Carleton to Winwood, January, 1604-[5], in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, 44.

⁶ Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604-[5], in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6.

sentatives of European powers he had received and returned the compliments which announced to the world the supremacy of Spain in the matter of England's friendship.

Two days after the masque, Beaumont was received in audience by James to whom he "complained very loudly of what had taken place, though he laid the blame on five or six officials who had done him this wrong and his master this disservice. He charged them with being thoroughly corrupted by Spain, and declared with great vehemence that he must report all to his master." The King promised him redress but without satisfying him. He wrote to Villeroy that James's expressed displeasure toward the officials was simulated and that the Court was all under the influence of Spain.¹

It is not to be supposed, that England alone, of European powers, used the masque for diplomatic ends. In France and Spain especially most interesting complications were worked out through the popular medium. The scope of the present treatment, however, excludes most of those from consideration or even from mention, but the present case is an exception.

Shortly after the diplomatic manoeuvres just considered, the French Queen entertained the King, her husband, with a masque given at the Louvre. Henry IV took this occasion to impress upon the Duke of Lenox, English Ambassador extraordinary to France, with what serious displeasure he regarded the English treatment of his representative in London.²

The mission of the French Ambassador in England was clearly a failure. Beaumont was unable to further

¹ See Appendix, 13.

² See Appendix, 14.

the French-English marriage alliance, to bring about "the renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland" or "to procure invitations to public ceremonies with precedence over the Spanish Ambassador."¹

The Spanish preferment at the English Court was recognised on all hands. Other countries which had begun to talk of a Spanish marriage alliance at the conclusion of the treaty,² now spoke of that matter more publicly and with more assurance.³

Beaumont felt his disgrace and his failure most keenly. The details of all that had happened, he sent by Sieur D'auval to Henry IV and wrote both to Villeroy and to the King, explaining that the change of affairs in England produced upon him an unbearable "disgust and melancholy" and asking for his immediate recall.⁴

Not until November following his request was Beaumont permitted to return to France.⁵ Three reasons were given to the world for his recall, "The seizure of cloth at Rouen; a libel on the King of England; the exclusion of the French Ambassador from the

¹ See Appendix, 15.

² Cf. *supra*.

³ "The Ambassador of the Archdukes [Flanders] who will be a son of President Richardet, is expected here; some say as Ambassador extraordinary till d'Aremberg's son-in-law shall arrive. Any way there is a rumour that the Archduke has opinions concerning Flanders very different from those of Spain, and that he finds he must keep his own envoy at this Court to look after his interests; all the more so as rumour is rife that there will be a match between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta who will bring the Low Countries as her dower." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 30 [O. S. 20] December, 1604, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 203.

⁴ See Appendix, 13.

⁵ "Finally they have a deep suspicion of France, whose Ambassador left eight days ago without awaiting his successor." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 17 Nov., 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, No. 443.

Court festival in London."¹ He took with him besides the displeasure of the English Court, the odium attached to a suspicion concerning his connection with the Gunpowder Plot.²

Since Beaumont's successor did not reach England until the following May (1606) the Spaniard was left wholly master of the situation during the Court festivities of the Christmas season 1605-6. In all his accustomed glory³ de Tassis attended *Hymenæi*, the marriage masque of Twelfthnight written by Jonson to celebrate the healing of a great political breach between two of the greatest houses of England. The thirteen-year-old daughter of the House of Suffolk was united in marriage to the fourteen-year-old descendant of the House of Essex.

In the presence of the Spanish Ambassador the masquers courtesied to the King as "Reason" gave James I credit for the peace and union within his kingdom:

Up youths! hold up your lights in air,
 And shake abroad your flaming hair.
 Now more united, and in gait,
 As you in pairs do front the state,
 With grateful honours thank his grace
 That hath so glorified the place:
 And as in circle you depart,
 Linked hand in hand, so heart in heart
 May all those bodies still remain
 Whom he with so much sacred pain
 No less hath bound within his realms
 Than they are with the ocean's streams.

¹ The Queen's masque. See A. Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, No. 343. ² See Appendix, 16. ³ See Appendix, 17.

Long may his Union find increase,
As he to ours hath deigned his peace!¹

When the "ladies" whose "attire was wholly new for the invention and full of glory,"² "took forth other persons (men and women)" to dance other measures, galliards and corantos,³ de Tassis was "taken out" for the dance together with the Prince, the Archduke's Ambassador, the Duke and others. "And the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride and the greatest of the ladies."³ But the dress of the Spaniard so far surpassed that of the remainder of the company that the spectators measured the extreme elegance, the cost and beauty of the masquers' attire by the lesser elegance of his.⁴

English friendliness for Spain was marked by the attitude toward a marriage alliance. During the first year of James's reign it was not even openly suggested; the following year Spain timidly proposed it while at the present time it was being openly urged by England.⁵

The correspondence of the time concerns itself almost wholly with the Gunpowder Plot, which shook England from end to end, and gave that country a sufficient number of domestic problems to occupy it to the neglect of foreign affairs for a time. The sudden disappearance of the French Ambassador, coinciding with the time of the discovery of the plot, and the interruption of friendly diplomatic relations, gave the friends of Spain an opportunity to further the cause of Spain and to cast suspicion upon France. Henry IV, forced to assume the defensive, sent a special ambas-

¹ Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 27.

² Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 29, contrast with *The Masque of the Twelve Goddesses*, for example. ³ Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 26.

⁴ See *supra*, 31¹.

⁵ *Supra*, 30¹.

sador to congratulate James upon his escape, and wrote a personal letter in which he offered to make an example of Beaumont if the slightest particle of the charge against him were found to be true.¹

To fortify himself against the opposition which published itself through the Gunpowder Plot, James arranged for the marriage of one of his most favoured Scotchmen with an English lady in very high standing. He appointed the marriage festivities for the Christmas season 1606-7 when the nuptials might be honoured by the masque of Twelfthnight. The masque, written by Thomas Campion for the marriage of Lord Hay² and his bride,³ resounded with the extravagant praises of the recently threatened King—his love of Scotland and the successful union, under him, of the two countries.

O then great Monarch with how wife a care
Do you these bloods devided mixe in one,
And with like confanguinities prepare
The high and everliving Union
Tweene Scots, and English: who can wonder then
If he that marries kingdomes, marries men?⁴

Occupied with these domestic troubles, England was forced to announce a change of policy toward Conti-

¹ See *supra*, 30. See also Appendix, 18.

² James Hay, first Earl of Carlyle, first Viscount Doncaster, and first Baron Hay (died 1636). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1908; Bullen, A. H., *Works of Dr. Thomas Campion*, 145 sq.; John Nichols, *Progresses of James I, II*, 103 sq.; Gardner, *History of England*, ii, viii; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 774.

³ Daughter and heir to Lord Denney. See A. H. Bullen, *Works of Dr. Thomas Campion*, 145.

⁴ Thomas Campion, *The Description of a maske, Presented before the Kinges maiestie at White-Hall on Twelfth Night last, in honour of the Lord Hayes, and his Bride* (1607), A².

See also A. H. Bullen, *Works of Dr. Thomas Campion*, 145.

mental powers. Salisbury was at some pains to impress upon foreign representatives in the Court assurances of English neutrality. He shrewdly advertised that England was in position to accept favours from all countries without showing preference for any.¹ A close scrutiny of England's procedure, however, does not indicate indifference. The behaviour of the English Ambassador in Venice shows her acute concern over Spanish interference in Italy even while she was urging the marriage alliance and in other ways courting the favour of Spain.²

Besides this the coming of a new ambassador from Paris, gives evidence of a willingness to heal the breach with France, the known arch-enemy of Spain and friend of Scotland.³

The effect of these events upon the *Masque of Lord Hay and his Bride* on Twelfthnight, 1606-7, is seen in the fact that no ambassadors were invited.⁴ For this the newly arrived French Ambassador, Boderie, remembering Beaumont's failure, offered a fervent "Thank God." Boderie's report of his first Christmas in the English Court indicates what he believed to be the cause of some of the Spanish success. He made significant comment on the smallness of his own gift to the married pair, compared with that of Spain.

¹ "But they [English] have an idea repeatedly impressed upon me by the Earl of Salisbury, namely that the crown of England is like a maiden, to whom two powerful princes are paying court; if she favours one she angers the other; her policy, therefore, is to preserve herself isolated and alone, more especially as she is in a position to so do quite easily, as she need neither fear nor want anybody; and in this way she may preserve the love of both her suitors." Nicolo Molin, *Report on England presented to the Government of Venice in 1607*, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 518, No. 739.

See also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, *passim*.

² See Appendix, 19.

³ *Supra*, 14.

⁴ See Appendix, 20.

Though he questioned the efficiency of such means, he later requested permission to follow Spain's example.

The masque was not wholly successful. The Queen who had always been known to be a friend to Spain,¹ refused to be present, alleging illness, and even the King failed to show the enthusiasm that the occasion warranted.²

As the Christmas season of 1607-8 approached, James I directed the Queen to prepare a masque.³ Though it had been Ben Jonson's and probably Queene Anne's plan on Twelfthnight, 1605, to produce *The Masque of Beauty* or some other masque as early as Twelfthnight, 1606,⁴ political conditions, as we have seen, prevented. It had been three years⁵ since her

¹ *Supra*.

² "The Court is entirely occupied with preparations for the marriage, the King staying on for it very unwillingly, but as he himself says he consoles himself with dreaming of the chase." Zori Guistinian, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 11 Jan. [O. S. 1], 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 453, No. 660.

³ "Un autre indice que je preus encore, qu'on tâche de faire paroitre moins de mauvoise volonté envers les-dits Catholiques, est que le Roi en partout pour sa chaffe, ayant ordonné à lè Reine de preparer un bal pour ces fêtes de Noël, & s'étant chargé de la depense, laquelle vn dit devoir être de plus de six ou sept mille ecus (car on nef cauroit rien faire ici pour peu) on remarque, que presque toutes les Dames que la Reine appellées pour en être soit Catholiques." Boderie to Puisieux, 20 Dec. [O. S. 10], 1607, in *Le Fevre de la Boderie Ambassades*, ii, 490.

⁴ "So that this night the year gone round, you do again salute this ground." *The Masque of Blackness*, Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 8.

Cf. also *infra*, 36.

⁵ "Two years being now past that Her Majesty had intermitted these delights, and the third almost come, it was her highness's pleasure again to glorify the court, and command that I should think on some fit presentment which should answer the former, still keeping them the same persons, the daughters of Niger, but their beauties varied according to promise, and their time of absence excused, with four more added to their number." *The Masque of Beauty*. Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 10.

Majesty had given a great Court masque and all eyes were turned toward the new event.¹ James was pleased to burden himself with the cost without stint² and the entire Court gave themselves over to the discussion of the magnificence of the preparations to the exclusion of all business.³ Ben Jonson, who had achieved high fame as a masque writer, was set to work by the Queen on *The Masque of Beauty* for which he says she gave "command that I should think on some fit presentment which should answer the former [*Masque of Blackness*] still keeping them the same persons, the daughters of Niger."⁴

The Frenchman was immediately concerned. He made note of the fact that the Queen had chosen Catho-

* "*Boreas.* To thee then thus, and by thee to that King,
That doth thee present honours, do I bring
Present remembrance of twelve Æthiop dames:
Who, guided hither by the moon's bright flames,
To see his brighter light, were to the sea
Enjoined again, and (thence assigned a day
For their return) were in the waves to leave
Their Blackness and true BEAUTY to receive.

Jame. Which they received, but broke their day: and yet
Have not returned a look of grace for it,
Shewing a coarse and most unfit neglect.
Twice have I come in pomp here to expect
Their presence: twice deluded, have been fain
With other rites my feasts to entertain;
And now the third time, turned about the year,
Since they were looked for, and yet are not here!"

Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Beauty*, in his *Works* (1903), iii, 11.

¹ See Appendix, 21.

² "The King came back to the city four days ago to keep Christmas. He and the Court are entirely absorbed in the festivities and in the Queen's Masque. She is giving it great attention in order that it may come up to expectation." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 10 Jan., 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 82, No. 146.

See also *infra*, i, 157.

⁴ Ben Jonson, *Masque of Beauty*, in *Works* (1903), iii 10.

lic women for most of her masquing mates and in this saw favouritism toward his "Catholic Majesty."¹

The first confirmation of Boderie's fears came with an invitation to a dinner at the home of the Duke of Lenox. Here he learned that the Spanish Ambassador was already invited to the masque, and the blame again laid on the Queen.²

Boderie protested that the King of Great Britain should so easily yield in so important a matter. The King, he said, should be master in his own house; the masque was a public action wherein the Ambassador of Spain could not be favoured more than the Ambassador of France without manifest testimony of bad faith toward the French King. Feeling that Lenox's dinner had been given to sound him, and remembering Beaumont's fall, he determined to do nothing without specific orders, so he sent a courier express to Paris requesting immediate instructions for his procedure.³

In the meantime, through Lenox he inquired of Salisbury and Dombar what might be done.⁴ They answered that the King was infinitely sorry but the Queen's promise to the Ambassador of Spain left him without means to remedy the matter. James offered Boderie a dinner instead. Boderie replied that there was no comparison between a dinner and a masque.⁵

"A dinner," he said, "was a private function while the

¹ *Supra*, 35 ².

² See Appendix, 22.

³ See *ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*; also Appendix, 23.

⁵ It must not be understood that a dinner with a King was considered a small honour, but only that a masque outranked it much. In the negotiations for the Spanish-English treaty (1604), one of the English demands was the privilege of permitting the English Ambassador to eat at the King's table. The manner in which Philip III refused shows how a dinner with a King was considered, in Spain at any rate.

Cf. also Appendix, 23.

masque was a public spectacle and solemnity. If he should dine with the King, the Spaniard would take supper with His Majesty at the masque. De Tassis would be seen by ten thousand persons in whose presence he would receive the favour of publicly dancing with the Queen and of assisting at the collation given there after. Since all the spectators at the masque would be the judges of England's action in giving such honour to Spain, and since they would publish the manifestations of England's friendship for Spain to all Christendom, he was unwilling to consent to an arrangement which so prejudiced the cause of his Master. Therefore he resolved," he said, "to refuse the invitation to the dinner."¹

The following day a new message was sent to Boderie requesting him to reconsider the matter of the dinner. Boderie answered that he was sorry, but France could be satisfied only with one of two things; either England must invite him to the masque or deny the Ambassador of Spain an invitation.²

One day more passed and Salisbury sent his secretary to say that the King was extremely sorry for the inconsiderateness of the Queen. He again asked Boderie to reconsider, explaining that the masque was only an affair of the Queen whom every one knew to be Spanish,² and who had power over her husband, while the dinner proceeded from the King. Boderie retorted that since the Queen was Spanish and had so much influence with her husband, the King of France had little to expect from a Court in which the interests of the House of Austria were supreme.¹

The French good-will was too vital to be readily sacrificed, so Salisbury next sent Lenox to say that the English Court would make the proffered dinner a public affair to which they would invite the Venetian

¹ See Appendix 23.

Ambassador for the greater honour of France. They also made offer to refuse the Spaniard the supper which usually preceded the masque and to invite with Spain the lesser Ambassador of Flanders. Again Boderie refused. After further futile attempts to come to an agreement, Salisbury called a meeting of the Council and kept them up until eleven o'clock at night in an effort to find some way out of the difficulty, but all to no avail.

The masque was put off from day to day with the excuse that all was not in readiness.¹ Finally the English, probably through Salisbury,² determined upon a bold stroke. The Queen who had been kept waiting with her eleven noble companions for four days after all was in readiness, the long trains of assistants, actors, dancing-masters, musicians, costumers, machinists, stage-hands, etc., with the rooms set aside for purposes, pertaining to the masque, the nobility of England who had flocked to the city for the great event of the year, the long trains of ambassadors who were kept at the tensest pitch of excitement and intrigue³; all were quieted by the sudden order to per-

¹ "The shew is put of till fonday by reason all things are not redy." Chamberlain to Carleton, "8th of January late 1607," in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xxxi, No. 4.

"The court is still occupied by festivities. The Queen has put off her masque for a few days." *Ibid.*, xi, 83, No. 149.

² Note the fact that James was constantly at the chase and that most of Boderie's discussions took place with Salisbury and the Council.

"His Majesty's own hand was seldom to be discovered in his measures and those by whom they were accomplished were rarely conscious of having been his instruments." Edmund Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages* (1821-34), ii, See *Salisbury*.

³ Note for comparison: "The Archduke's Ambassador having failed to obtain an invitation to the Masque, though he made handsome presents for this purpose to the Queen's first Ladies-in-waiting, has been obliged to accept the invitation to the wedding." Guistinian to the

form the masque without further negotiation or delay.

The Masque of Beauty was one of the most serious exploitations of the wealth and power and influence of the English Court, yet attempted. The Queen of Beauty and her ladies were so splendid as to cause representatives from continental powers to proclaim to their home governments that "no other Court could have displayed such pomp and riches." "The apparatus and the cunning of the stage machinery was a miracle, the abundance and the beauty of the lights immense, the music and the dance most sumptuous. But what beggared all else and possibly exceeded the public expectation was the wealth of pearls and jewels that adorned the Queen and her ladies."² For jewels "one Lady and that vnder a baronneise is faide to be furnished for better then one hundred thoufand pounds [between \$2,500,000 and \$4,000,000 of our money] and the Lady Arabella goes beyond her, and the Q. must not come behinde."³ No small share of the grandeur of the masque was due to the fact that the King "intended this function to consecrate the birth of the Great Hall which his predecessors had left him built merely of wood, but which he had converted into stone."³

Doge and Senate, 21 Feb., 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 97, No. 176.

² Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 27 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 154.

³ Chamberlain to Carleton "the 8th of January late 1607" in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xxxi, No. 4.

"The habit and dressing for the fashion was most curious, and so exceeding in riches as the throne whereon they sat seemed to be a mine of light struck from their jewels and their garments." Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 14.

³ Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 24 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 154.

The Queen sent an invitation to the wife of the French Ambassador. Her husband answered that his wife was too wise to receive favour where her husband was in disfavour and too courageous to have any desire to add by her presence to the lustre of the Spanish Ambassador.

No one seems to have disputed the fact that it was a Spanish occasion and it was a joyous one.¹ The "orange-tawny" and "sea-green"² costumes of the masquers "after some time of dancing with their lords"³ contrasted in the common dances with the rich gown of the envied³ Spanish Ambassador. "The King's Majesty" was so happy over the dances that he "required them both again."⁴ Surely it was a Spanish opportunity, exercised to the full.

The centre of all the splendour was the Spanish Ambassador with whom the Venetian Ambassador "was invited along with Spain the more to honour Spain."⁴ If the detailed history of this event is ever written it will disclose plans fraught with world-wide policy. The master mind of Salisbury never countenanced such a spectacle without scenting far-reaching results.

So that no one would have access to him, for complaint, "He [James I] left the day after the masque. Before he left, however, he sent to his Ambassador in France instructions as to his answers [demanding payment of debts]⁵ should anything be said to him on

¹ "She [Queen Anne] reaped universal applause and the King constantly showed his approval." Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 24th January [O. S. 14], 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 154.

² See Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, 4.

³ See *supra*; also Appendix 30.

⁴ Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 17 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 83, No. 149.

⁵ See Appendix 23, 24, 25, and 26.

the question of precedence. The King also closed the passage between Dover and Calais in order to intercept the message which the French Ambassador here was sending to his master."¹

These drastic measures had the desired effect. Spain was completely successful even to the extent of having the Venetian Ambassador invited with her own.² Queen Anne was forced, as we have seen, to bear the odium of the affair.³ Boderie's friends tried to placate him by reporting that they remonstrated against his absence on the evening of the masque and that the King's displeasure with the Queen kept James I awake all night and sent him off the following morning to the chase without anything to eat and without bidding adieu to the Queen.³ Though these conciliatory reports were carried to Boderie by his friends, we find by the results that Salisbury's diplomatic move was successful. The French clamour ceased. Henry IV and his chief minister, in their next letters, turned their attention to the discussion of the debts demanded and ordered Boderie to take no further note of the

¹ Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 24 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 87, No. 155.

² Appendix 22, 23 f.

³ "J'ai çu depuis qu'ils font marris de ce que s'en est passé; & que le Roi, le jour des Ballet, ayant demandé à ceux de sa chambre à qui leur en avoit semble, tous, mais principalement Ramzai, & Aduiton son parent, lui repondirent que rien ne s'y pouvoit desirer, si l'Ambassadeur de France y eût été; mais qu'y voir celui d'Espagne & l'autre non, avoit fait parler & presque murmurer tous ceux qui l'avoient vu. De forte que ledit Roi avoit taut plus reconnu lors la faute qui avoit été faite, & s'en étoit montré si piqué contre la Reine, que toute la nuit il n'en avoit point dormi, & que des le lendemain matin, sans la voir, ni lui dire adieu, ni même sans vouloir manger, s'en étoit allé à la chasse, où il a demeure cinq ou six jours." Boderie to King Henry, 5 February, 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 74-5.

masque except to let it be known that the French King was not pleased.¹

The world, informed of the Spanish victory, again speculated on the probability of a marriage alliance between Spain and England.²

Boderie accepted his defeat with what grace he could. He notified Villeroy that it was no wonder the Spanish got all they wished for. They were paying for it in the amount of money de Tassis was spending. He had just given a grand feast to the Queen, all her dancing mates and their friends at which he presented each of the masquers with a beautiful gift.

By way of recompense for the Twelfthnight Masque, Boderie was invited to the marriage dinner and masque of the Viscount Haddington, one of the most intimate of the Scotch friends of James I.³ He begged that the French King would send a valuable ring as a gift to the groom. Henry IV refused to give the ring and ordered Boderie to accept the invitation only upon condition that all other ambassadors should be excluded.⁴

Boderie accepted the invitation but without insisting upon the exclusion of the Ambassador from Flanders. He explained that the Ambassador of the Archduke was

¹ See Appendix 24, 25, and 26.

² "During these festivities I have observed from certain signs which passed between the Spanish Ambassador and some of his confidants that they are pushing forward the hopes of a matrimonial alliance between these Sovereigns." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 24 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 87, No. 155.

³ "When treason would have burst a soul

To-day renowned and added to my roll

Opposed: and by that act to his name did bring

The honour to be savor to his King."

Hue and Cry after Cupid, Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 40.

⁴ See Appendix 27 and 28.

present but unnoticed.¹ King Henry's anger was aroused however over the disobedience and the chagrin of having been unable to get even this much satisfaction for the neglect of the first masque.² The correspondence of the French King and of his Ministers for the months following concerns itself with this detail. Though Boderie reported that at *The Masque of the Viscount Haddington* marks of the highest favour were shown to all the family, that even his little daughter was taken out by the Duke of York, in whose company she behaved so pleasingly that the whole audience gave evidence of approval to the little couple,³ though Boderie added that he gained the good-will of the Scotch and even of the Queen, Henry IV permitted his Ambassador to feel his indignity for some time over the one thing in which he had failed.⁴

¹ "L'Ambassadeur de l'Archidue fut présent à tout, mais si ne particpa-t-il ni à l'entretien, car le Roi ne lui parla jamais, ni à aucunes des careffes particulieures dont il a plu sudit Roi de me favoriser esquelles, encore que je viffe bien qu'il y avoit quelque contrainte, si les reçus-je comme venant du fond du cour." Boderie to Henry IV, 27 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii.

² "Ou vous avoit permis déj entendre, sans vous arreter pouron que l'Ambassadeur des Archiducs en fût exclus, ainsi que vous-même reconnoiffiez être necessaire pour rendre recevable cette réparation & satisfaction, & telle qu'elle est due S. M: tellement que si cette action s'est passé selon votre premier projet, je vous assure que sadite Majesté l'aura agréable." Villeroy to Boderie, 28 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 134.

³ "Il [King James] voulut même que ma petite fille vint prendre à danfer monsieur le Duc d'Vorck, qui s'en acquiterent si bien tous deux, qu'ils ne firent moins rire la compagnie qu'avoit fait l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, mais de façon toute diverse." Boderie to Puisieux, 27 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 125.

⁴ "En un seule chose crains-je d'avoir faille, vn même ce qu'il a plu à V. M. m'en écrire, en souffrant que l'Ambassadeur des Archiducs se soit trouve à la plupart de tout cela avec moi." Boderie to Henry IV, 4 March, 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 144.

Boderie's troubles were not confined to dramatic productions in the Court alone. A company of actors had been forbidden, on Boderie's complaint, to continue insulting France by presenting Chapman's *Duke of Biron*. As soon as the Court closed its Christmas festivities and removed from London, as was its custom, the actors, instead of obeying the orders forbidding them to play the *Duke of Biron*, added to the play the characters of the French Queen and the French King's mistress, causing the latter to receive a box on the ear.¹ Boderie sought out Salisbury and renewed his complaint against the company, reporting the added insult which he said was wholly without justification since it had nothing to do with the play and was false as well. Salisbury arrested three of the actors and made search for Chapman, who was not anywhere to be found. The same company of players had, a day or two before their arrest, portrayed the favourites of the English King in a strange manner, had ridiculed James's Scotch features, together with his fondness for hawking and hunting, and had depicted him tipsy at least once a day.

Boderie, finding that France had plenty of trouble without looking for more, reported to the French Minister that it seemed wiser to have the actors' punishment attributed to the irreverence they had shown their own King, than to anything they had said about the French Queen and Madame Vermeuil. So he proposed, with the French government's approval, to take no further note of the matter.

When the whole affair was reported to James, he is said to have been greatly irritated. He ordered all London theatres closed, a search to be made for Chapman, and the actors to be punished.

¹ See Appendix 29.

To be relieved from the first order, the French Ambassador reports, "four other companies offer one hundred thousand francs which will easily obtain permission for them; but at least it will be upon condition that they will not represent any modern history nor speak of things of the time under penalty of death." One cannot help remembering in this connection how hard pressed for money James was.

The French Prime Minister congratulated Boderie upon treating the insolence of the comedians so lightly, lest resentment against France should have been increased thereby, "although" he adds, "I assure you, people on this side found that act very audacious."¹

By 1608, approximately five years had passed since the accession of King James. Spain had made strides worth recounting since the days of open hostility under Elizabeth. France had failed to captivate Queen Anne, who was made to bear the odium² of the new diplomatic trend; but there were other powers at work, soon to force the English statesmen to show their hands in another way.

¹ "Vous avez bien fait de vous moquer de l'insolence de ce Comédiens, avec la mesure que vous y avez tenue, puisque le Roi de la Grande Bretagne n'y a pas été en plus grande considération. Vous n'en devez pas faire plus grand repentiment, encore, je vous assure, qu'on ait trouvé de deça cette procédure bien audacieuse." Puisieux to Boderie, 25 April, 1608, Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 198.

The credit for the discovery of this letter should be given to Professor C. W. Wallace, who first found it in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

² See *supra*.

CHAPTER II

1608-1614—THE MASQUE AN INSTRUMENT IN EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS COMBINATIONS—ASCENDENCY OF FRANCE

THE avowed object of the French King Henry IV's policy was the destruction of the House of Austria.¹ As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Henry failed to secure the co-operation of England in this policy during the first five years of the reign of James. Events on the continent had, however, been shaping themselves for his success, until in the year 1608, one part of his plan seemed ready for execution, namely the rendering of the Dutch absolutely independent of Spain.²

But the burden of the struggle against Spain was too heavy for France alone, especially since the Dutch were only half-hearted in their desire for independence.³ To share the expense and the ill-will of Spain, Henry manoeuvred for the assistance of England. James, never very positive, found a policy especially hard to choose. On the one hand the English people were crying out for the rich gains of privateering

¹ See Bethune (Maximilien de), Duke of Sully, *Memoirs* (Dublin, 1751), 1-35 *et passim*. Cf. also *supra*.

² "De rendre les Provinces-Unies absolument independants de l'Espagne." Bethune (Maximilien de), Duke of Sully, *Memoirs* (London, 1752), iv, 45.

³ See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, Nos. 365, 391 *et passim*.

that had come to them during the war with Spain under Elizabeth.² Besides this James, like Elizabeth, posed as benefactor and protector of small Continental states, and he feared the loss of prestige if the Dutch should acquire independence through France.³

James had his reputation as peacemaker to maintain,³ however, and the policy of non-interference still appealed to him. Neither money nor ships were to be had for war⁴ and England feared the increase of the Dutch navy and their growing commerce.⁵

While James remained inactive, France was so successful in making the world believe that England planned to assist her against Spain that some months before Christmas, 1608, the Spanish government sent Don Pedro de Toledo to Paris with an offer of a bribe in the shape of a Franco-Spanish marriage alliance which would bring the Low Countries into the French possession as a dowry to the bride.⁶ This manoeuvre instead of helping Spain was used by France in an attempt to force James into a more positive attitude.⁷

² See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 468.

³ "I have discovered that the real reason why the King of England favours the truce is in order to prevent its being concluded without his participation through the instrumentality of France," Marc' Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, 4 Dec. (O. S. 24 Nov.), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 376.

⁴ See Ben Jonson, *Masques*, *passim*.

⁵ See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 126.

⁶ "They fear that the growing power of the Dutch by sea will eventually seriously damage the trade of England." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 27 March (O. S. 17), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 204. See also *ibid.*, No. 376.

⁷ See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 271. Note also the same offer made to England earlier.

See also Samuel R. Gardner, *History of England, 1603-1642* (1883), ii, 27.

⁷ "There is news that Don Pedro de Toledo is ordered to pass through

While she was making an offer of alliance by marriage to France, Spain kept in close touch with English feeling. A new outbreak in Ireland, encouraged perhaps by her, aided her interests.¹ To discover, and possibly to influence the English attitude more definitely, Spain sent Don Ferdinando Giron, as Ambassador Extraordinary, to England in December.²

Ben Jonson, under Queen Anne's direction,³ was preparing *The Masque of Queens* for presentation by her Majesty on Twelfthnight 1608-9. Giron was no sooner landed than he began to manoeuvre⁴ for an invitation

to France on his way to Germany; he to raise the question of alliance between the two crowns. This rouses great suspicion here, and the subject has been broached to the French Ambassador. He has used the opportunity to heighten the suspicion, with a view to inducing the English to accept the proposals he had already made to them about the affairs in Holland." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 25 June (O. S. 15) 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 269.

See also *idem*, Nos. 278, 285, 288, *et passim*. Cf. also *infra*, 57.

¹ "He [the French Ambassador] has found them [the English] more determined than ever to avoid mixing in anything that could cause annoyance to Spain, especially now that the rising in Ireland compels them to act with reserve and in truth for some time past they have treated the Spanish with much more respect than heretofore." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 25 June (O. S. 15), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 269.

² "Monday Don Ferdinando Giron, Knight of Malta, arrived in London." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 26 December (O. S. 16), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 393.

³ "And because Her Majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance, or shew, that might precede hers, and have the place of foil or false masque: I was careful to decline, not only from others, but mine own steps in that kind since the last year." Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 45-6.

⁴ "The Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors are now manoeuvring to be invited to the masque. They declare it would be a slight to the Embassy-Extraordinary to be left out." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 9 Jan. (O. S. 31 Dec.), 1608-9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 404.

to this masque and the world looked to the outcome for a clue as to which of the belligerents England was willing to join in the coming contest.

An Ambassador Extraordinary from one of the important countries took precedence, according to established custom, over all other ambassadors,¹ and it began to be whispered about that again the French must be excluded from "hearing the glories of Bel-Anna so well told"² on Twelfthnight.

But France was at this time more sure of her position. Informed by Salisbury, the former friend of Spain,³ of the Spanish designs concerning the Queen's masque, Boderie sent his wife to the Queen and enlisted the influence of the Countess of Bedford. He was happily surprised to find her Majesty so ready to lend an ear to his wife's ridicule of the Spanish Ambassador's dancing at the last masque. Queen Anne did not even show resentment at Madame Boderie's suggestion that it would be more charitable to leave the Spaniard at home in bed on the occasion of the coming masque than to expose him to the danger of getting the catarrh to which he was subject.⁴

Boderie was not wholly assured, however. He wrote to Henry IV's chief adviser "twenty-three" or "twenty four" days before Twelfthnight begging for immediate and explicit instructions concerning his procedure. So important did he feel it that he redoubled precautions by writing Puisieux also, entreating consideration and haste.⁵

Henry did not leave so important a matter to his advisers. He answered in person and his instructions were most positive.

¹ See *infra*.

² Ben Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, in *Works* (1903), iii, 59.

³ See *supra*, 39².

⁴ See Appendix 30.

⁵ See Appendix 31.

I say to you [he wrote], that I persist in the maintenance of my dignity and reputation, and it is my command that if there is any diminishing of the rank that belongs to me, I order your recall from the King of Great Britain and his chief ministers. Take care then that nothing happens on the occasion of the Masque to the disadvantage of my dignity.¹

Such clear and positive orders could not easily be mistaken; but the English Court could not, without serious insult, invite Boderie while a Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary was in residence.

If Giron would only leave the Court before the masquing season, England might be saved the necessity of advertising her choice of sides, but this the Spaniard had no intention of doing; and James I who was his host could not of course dismiss him without giving serious offence.²

In the meantime nothing was left undone that would influence the English in their choice of guests for *The Masque of Queens*. Both ambassadors kept in constant touch with members of the Court and even of the royal family. Money was spent lavishly by both France and Spain and every possible means of gaining the desired end was resorted to.³

¹ Appendix 32. Cf. Appendix 38.

² "As the Ambassadors of Spain and the Archdukes continued to insist on being invited to the Masque the Court announced that their Majestys wish the French Ambassador and myself to be present. We were informed of this by many that have the King's ear. I hear that his Majesty was anxious to dismiss the Ambassador Extraordinary and told the Queen so who was quite willing; but the Ambassador neither asks to take leave nor shows any signs of going and so his Majesty has put off the Masque, which ought to have been given to-morrow, to the 12th of February, the Feast of the Purification." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 15 Jan. (O. S. 5), 1609, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 413.

³ See Appendix 33 and 34.

In France plans were made for two presentations of the same masque. It was hoped that these would have influence upon the English situation.²

To the first production of this masque given at the Arsenal in Paris, by the Queen of France, of foreign representatives, only the English Ambassador and his wife were invited. Henry IV did these the special honour of seating them behind the chairs of their Majesties and giving them other marks of favour. To make the French purpose more apparent, the Papal Nuncio, the Ambassador of Spain, and the Venetian Ambassador were invited to a second production of the same masque at the home of the "lesser" Queen Marguerite. The repetition of the masque, the Queen of "lesser quality," and the number invited enforced the subordination of Spain to England.³

The reports of Henry's two chief ministers put especial stress upon this subordination and pointed out that the treatment which the English Ambassador received at the masque of the Arsenal in Paris should surely be of great advantage to the French cause in London.³

The insult which France intended for Spain is more apparent if we consider a Frenchman's answer to an invitation to the second production of the *Masque of Augurs* given in London on May 5, 1622.

"The French Amb^r; Mons. de Illieurre receiving a kind of invitation by way of offer to be present at this Masque [*Masque of Augurs*] returned answer, that he

² See Appendix 35.

³ See Appendix 35, 36, and 37.

Cf. also "Je vous croire que le bon accueil & traitement qui a été fait deçà à l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre au ballet d l'Arfenal, n'a pas peu fervi à vous taut avantager par delà." Puisieux to Boderie, 23 Feb. (O. S. 13), 1609 in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, xi, 246.

most humbly kised his Majesties handes for the honour intended him; but his stomach would not (he said) agree with cold meat."

There were numerous signs of the waning influence of Spain at both the French and English courts, and ambassadors from lesser powers made no effort to conceal a declining respect. This so irritated the Spaniards that they sometimes indulged in ill-advised altercations with representatives of smaller powers. A dispute between Don Pedro de Toledo and the Venetian Ambassador occurred at Queen Marguerite's home on the evening of the masque and caused such amusement to the French Court and King that Henry declared it better than a comedy. On a later occasion the two men actually came to blows, and almost caused bloodshed in the very palace of the French King.¹

The Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary remained in London for a whole month longer than was expected, greatly inconveniencing "Bel-Anna" and her sister "Queens." Practice on *The Masque of Queens* was continued.² Elaborate scenery was kept in place,

¹ "Don Pedro de Toledo is returned to Spain not greatly satisfied (as they say), and for a parting blow these foul words betwixt him and the Venetian Ambassador at a ball at Queen Margaret's; when the French King took such pleasure, that he could not forbear to say, *cette farce vaut mieux que la Comedie.*" Chamberlain to Carleton, 21 Feb., 1608-9, in Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James I* (1848), i, 88.

"On the night of the last of January the Nuncio Don Pedro and I were invited to a ballet which the Queen danced at the Palace of Queen Marguerite, and there Don Pedro and I exchanged some slight words about titles." A. Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, 24 Feb. (O. S. 14), 1608-9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 446.

For the details of the open fight between these two men, see *idem*, No. 905.

² "It is thought that he [Giron] is staying on to compel the King to

halls,¹ set aside from state purposes, were in constant readiness, and the whole working of governmental machinery was retarded. Society leaders, accustomed to retire from London after Christmas with their long trains of followers, were forced to continue their London residence, all because the Spaniard would not go home.

Finally, feeling that they were making enemies by retarding the machinery, of government and society, and baffled in their efforts to secure invitation to *The Masque of Queens*, the Spaniards turned their attention toward procuring a place for the representative of their ally of Flanders. They hoped in this way at least to lessen the honour to France by causing the exclusion of the Venetian Ambassador.²

In this latter Spain succeeded in her real purpose. The Flemish Ambassador was not invited, but the claims urged in his behalf succeeded in preventing the invitation of the ambassador from Venice.³ The

invite him to her Majesty's masque, which in consequence of this may be put off again. All the same the Queen holds daily rehearsals and trials of the machinery." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 22 Jan. (O. S. 12), 1608-9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 420. Cf. Appendix 39.

¹ "To Sir Richardo Coningefbye . . . for makeinge readie the banquettinge house at Whitehall for the maske by the space of fower daies menfs Januarij 1608, lxxvij^e viij^d." *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 389, R. 46. *Apparelling, etc.*

² The Venetian and the Flemish ambassadors ranked with each other as closely as the Spanish and the French and therefore were never invited together. The presence of an ambassador from an important power was supposed to add to the publicity and credit of the ambassador who was being given chief honour (see 4⁵) except, of course, at times when the privacy and exclusiveness of the occasion advertised a greater honour still. See 52. Cf. also 41, 39 and the present occasion. Boderie reports to his government that the only thing lacking in his entertainment was the absence of the Venetian Ambassador. "Une feule chose m'y a fâché, c'est que l'Ambassadeur de Venise n'eu a point été." de la Boderie, *Ambassades*.

³ See Appendix 38.

Queen had promised to secure an invitation for the Venetian. Now, however, she "let it be understood that she would be pleased if I [Venetian Ambassador] came incognito to the Masque and Lady Arabella invited my suite and offered them a place apart."¹

No invitation was offered to the French until the departure of the Spanish Ambassador. Even so late as January twenty-eighth, five days before the time set for the masque, Boderie informed Villeroy that he had not yet been asked to attend. But the Spaniard, he said, was then on the point of leaving and he believed the English would surely invite him in exchange for the favours just given the English Ambassador at the French Court. These favours, Boderie writes, he had taken pains to bring to the notice of "Count Salisbury."²

Finally Giron ("seeing that the King was determined to invite to witness the dance, the French Ambassador who was omitted last year and had orders from his Master that if that happened again, he was to leave the Court at once"),³ decided not to increase the ladies' feeling of unpleasantness for himself by causing the masque to be again postponed.⁴ So he went ten miles out to Theobald's on Tuesday to take final leave of James I, and on Wednesday he left London.⁵ Immediately after Giron's departure, the King returned to the city, called the Council, decided to invite the French and the French only, and Anne and her masquing mates wearied from their extra month's practice, finally performed the long deferred *Masque of Queens* on Candlemas Day, Thursday, February the second.⁶

¹ Cf. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, ix, No. 439.

² See Appendix 39.

³ See Appendix 38.

⁴ See *supra*, 53.

⁵ See Appendix 38.

⁶ See *ibid.*

The French Ambassador, filled with glee, wrote two long letters to the French Court on Friday, February third (O. S.). Not only were he and his wife invited but he had the honour of supping with the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, while his wife supped with the Princess. The masque he pronounced more superb than ingenious, but the thing in which he was interested was the behaviour of the King, who declared that the masque was intended to announce the English partiality for the King of France and the French Ambassador over all others. He had never wished, James said, to invite any one else to *The Masque of Queens*, not even the Venetian Ambassador, for he wished this fête to be wholly for Boderie.² He rejoiced infinitely that his own wishes and those of the King of France were in such conformity as was evinced by the recent treatment of James's Ambassador in Paris, for whose entertainment and that of the "Viscomte de Cramborne" he charged Boderie to extend his thanks to Henry IV.

Boderie thanked James for his expressions of kindness toward France and begged pardon for the vehemence of his own behaviour on the occasion of *The Masque of Beauty*, citing Spanish impudence as the cause.

The French Ambassador bragged to the home court that before and after supper and during all the masque James spent the entire time in entertaining him, and that during an intermission of the masque the gorgeous "Bel-Anna," chief Queen of the masquers, approached his wife and before all the company poured upon her a thousand demonstrations of affection. Even Boderie's little daughter, the father announces, shared the Queen's

² See Appendix 40.

caresses, for the young Charles, Duke of York, having been taken out to dance by one of the masquers, sought out the little Mademoiselle and "took her out."

Queen Anne had intended the same honour for Boderie but the Ambassador explains that since he was no dancer and since he had no desire to make a laughing stock of himself as the Spanish Ambassador had done, the year before, he had early begged the Queen, through one of her women, to excuse him. Queen Anne took out Bressieux instead.

During the evening, Boderie declares, he was treated always with such demonstrations of good will that Henry IV should be fully satisfied. For himself, "if he did not know the story of the ass that bore the relics, he should be most vain."

The Frenchman closed the recital of his victory with a comparison of the favours shown to himself at the *Masque of Queens* and the treatment of the Spanish Ambassador the year before at *The Masque of Beauty*, Spain he declares was not invited by the King, nor did the Spanish Ambassador eat with his Majesty. Neither the King nor the Queen spoke to the Spaniard during the entire performance of *The Masque of Beauty*, and as he departed everyone looked askance at him.

Boderie reiterates that James and Salisbury made public that *The Masque of Queens* was given because of the English love of France. Both the King and Salisbury took occasion during the masque, under cover of the friendly influence of the evening's entertainment, to discuss international diplomatic conditions and to inquire five or six times, why an Ambassador from Spain should remain so long in Paris. To the great relief of Boderie, no word was said about the debts which had

58. Court Masques of James I

been so successfully used in silencing the French complaint for being excluded from *The Masque of Beauty* the year before.¹

The Masque of Queens was the fourth great Court masque of Queen Anne. Invitations to the first three were captured and used by Spain as an advertisement of close friendliness between Spain and England. Historians will be able to read the full significance of the French conquest in the fourth.

King Henry IV sent his thanks to Boderie and to James I, to whom he promised a continuance of fraternal friendship between the two countries, in testimony of his appreciation for the favours shown him through his Ambassador on the masquing evening.²

Puisieux sent with his congratulations to Boderie, a statement that the masque had a large influence in shaping the conditions of the treaty of peace, then in process of making, in which all the Powers of Europe were expected to concur,³ and Villeroy observed that

¹ *Supra* 41, Appendix 40. Cf. also Appendix 41.

² "S. M. s'est rejouie en général avec ledit ambassadeur des témoignages que le Roi son bon frere a vouler lui rendre en votre personne dansce derniere ballet de la Reine sa bonne foer, de la continuation de sa fraternelle amitié & l'en a remercié; lui difant après que quand elle auroit vn vos lettres elle redoubleroit ledit remerciement." Villeroy to Boderie, 27 Feb. (O. S. 17), 1608-9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 251.

³ "J'estime auffi que le demonstration que vous avez faite de vous retirer plutôt que de souffrir une indignité [cf. *supra*], n'y a peu avancé en cette conjuncture des affaires publiques; pour le bien desquelles, au traité des Pays-Bas, M. Jeannin, que vous avez fçu être arrivé à Anvers, se loue grandement de la présente conduite des Députés Anglois, & ne laisse toutefois de veiller soigneusement à ce qu'ils ne brassent quelque cas particulier, comme ils out accoutumé de faire quand ils en voient l'opportunité, tant pour traverser le bien public & la gloire d'autrui, que pour tâcher à s'attribuer le gré l'honneur du succès." Puisieux to Boderie, 23 Feb. (O. S. 13), 1608-9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 246-7.

the affair would cement the friendship of England and France while it would serve to check the covetousness of Spain.¹

The correspondence between the French Ambassador and his government, approximately half of which had been devoted to the masque for the past three months or so, now took up questions concerning the peace and other matters of state.² Speculation over a Spanish-English marriage alliance ceased, and in its stead attention was turned toward a rumoured union between France and England.³

Notwithstanding all Boderie's gleeful declaration of complete understanding, notwithstanding the friendly exchange of gratulation between Henry and James, matters at Court were not wholly satisfying. Whether England was unwilling to be forced further from her negative policy, or whether there was other cause, does not appear. In any case no public Court masques are recorded for the Christmas season, 1609-10. However the following June (1610) had been appointed for the "Creation" of the Prince of Wales. So great an event called for the most elaborate entertainment. The Queen set herself to the preparation of *Tethys' Festival*, written by Samuel Daniel in the Prince's honour, and the King issued a warrant of unlimited amount upon his treasury for her use.⁴

What the struggle over *Tethys' Festival* might have

¹ "et enfin sur cela il a été tenu plusieurs bons propos sur la conservation & augmentation de la bonne amitié intelligence qui doit être entre les deux Rois, pour servir de bride à la convoitise d'Espagne." Villeroy to Boderie, 27 Feb. (O. S. 17), 1608-9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 251.

² See de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, *passim*.

³ "Pour le mariage de monseigneur le Dauphin avec leur Princesse," etc. Boderie to Villeroy, 22 Feb. (O. S. 12), 1608-9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 242.

⁴ See Appendix 42.

been is only a matter for conjecture for the sudden death of the King of France removed the question of the French Ambassador's invitation, during the period of mourning, and left the English Court no excuse for refusing an invitation to Spain. There was a slight altercation when the Spanish Ambassador objected to the presence of the representative of the Dutch, whose independence Spain was not yet willing to recognise. He was quieted however by having the Dutchman placed at the masque in a box lower than his own, and near the Venetian.¹

The recent assassination of the King of France, which terrorised the English Court, the struggle between James and his Parliament for money, and the affair of Cleves, occupy most of the correspondence of the time.

The death of the French King and the consequent regency of Marie de Médici called for a new political adjustment in Europe.² The destruction of the House of Austria,³ which had been the pet scheme of Henry IV, was put aside and France listened with apparent satisfaction to a proposal from Spain for a double marriage alliance.⁴

¹ See Appendix 43.

² "The death of Henry IV, early in 1610, postponed for thirteen years the development of the anti Spanish-Austrian policy which would have governed the course of events. Marie de Médici, the Queen Regent, and her ministers Villeroy and Sillery, were Spanish in sympathy and firmly resolved that no breach should occur during the King's minority." Horatio F. Brown in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, *Preface*, xxvii and xxviii.

³ See *supra*, 47.

⁴ "Immédiatement après le mort d'Henri IV, l'idée d'une alliance de famille entre les deux cours [Spain and France], avait reparu. Le Duc de Feria envoyé en France comme ambassadeur extraordinaire pour faire à Louis XIII les compliments, était autorisé par ses instructions à parler d'une double mariage." Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, par Jean H. Mariejol (Paris, 1905), tom. sixième, ii, 147.

See *infra*, Chap. III, marriage of Louis XIII et D'Anne D'autriche

During the minority of Louis XIII, the Queen Regent and her ministers were unwilling to stir up trouble with anyone. The advent of a new King to the French throne and the change in policy, necessitated new treaties. One treaty drawn up by the ministers of England and France was presented for the French King's signature in September, 1610. The English wished for this treaty the widest publicity, so that the continued friendliness between England and France might be acclaimed to all the world. But France was inclined to spare the feelings of Spain and to minimise the importance of the treaty by accompanying the signature with as scant ceremonial as possible.¹

When the treaty had received the signature of France, Monsieur de Laverdin was appointed from the French Court to carry it to England for the signature of James. The English Court planned for such an entertainment of de Laverdin that all the world should know of his presence in England and of the purpose of his coming. With this end in view, the English announced that the two great masques in process of preparation were "particularly directed to honour this mission."² The Queen was given unlimited order

(28 Nov. 1615) See also Samuel R. Gardner, *History of England, 1603-1624*, (1883), ii, 99.

¹"The Ambassadors extraordinary and ordinary of England on learning that their Majesties were to go to Monceaux before going to Rheims suspected that this was done so as to swear the treaty with England in a small village to avoid offending the Spanish Ambassador." Antonio Fascarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, 21 Sept. (O. S. 11), 1610, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 58.

²"The masques which the Queen and Prince are preparing are particularly directed to honour this mission [de Laverdin's] which has been sent on purpose at this Christmastide so as to admit of still greater favour being shown to the marshall." Correr, Venetian Ambassador in

upon the exchequer for all sums required for the use of the masquers,¹ and men high in office were occupied with masquing matters to the neglect or delay of other business of state.²

To insure de Laverdin's presence in England during the masquing season when the masques might be used to proclaim more loudly the purpose of his presence, King James requested the French government to postpone the Ambassador's departure from France for some weeks after the date originally intended. This they did, but to the chagrin of the English, de Laverdin continued to postpone his coming until the masquing season was well-nigh over.³ The delay may have been caused by business, or by Court mourning, as the Venetian Ambassador suggests; or possibly,

England to the Doge and Senate, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 153.

¹ See Appendix 44.

² "My duty to your lo. most humbly remembered. Your lo. br̄e came hither to day about noone but his mat̄y was abroad so as I could not sooner dispatch and wold not haue sent yr part so late but that I haue order to send to my lo. of Worcester about the maske matters which requireth some speed . . .

"From the Coart at Royston this 22 Nouember, 1610.

"Your lo. most humbly to comãd,

"Tho: Lake."

Endorsed:

"To the right honourable my singular good Eo. the Earle of Salisbury lo. high Thres. of England."

In Public Record Office, *State Papers Domestic James I*, lviii, No. 27.

³ "The court passed these days of Christmastide in festivity and rejoicing. The King wished the Marshall de Laverdin, Ambassador Extraordinary of France, to arrive here at this juncture and accordingly he caused the Marshall to postpone his departure some weeks ago; but now M. de Laverdin either kept back by business or resolved not to go to dances, as he is still in mourning, did not reach Calais till Monday last, and is kept there by the wind." Marc' Antonio Correr, to the Doge and Senate, 14 January (O. S. 4), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 159.

as the outcome would seem to indicate,¹ by the same motive which induced the French to seek as much secrecy and lack of display as possible for the ratification in France.²

De Laverdin's long delay caused the Court to make such changes in the Christmas programme as to prevent the season from being entirely bare of festivity, and, at the same time, to save the greatest function for its original purpose. Therefore the Queen's masque, Ben Jonson's *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*, which was to have preceded the Prince's,³ was put off to await de Laverdin's coming.⁴ *Oberon* by the same author, the last great masque played by Prince Henry, was given on the night of January first. To Prince Henry's masque, the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice were invited.⁵ But there was no loud acclaim, as in the diplomatic correspondence of the early years of James I, of the Queen's favouritism,⁶ or of the elegant dress⁷ or successful dancing of the Spanish Ambassador.⁸

Whether James turned to his foreign guest for approval of the gratulation tendered himself and his son

¹ See *infra*.

² See *supra*, 61.

³ "The King is pleased that the approaching Christmas she [Queen Anne] should give another masque of Ladies; it will precede the Prince's masque and neither will be so costly as last year's which to say sooth was excessively costly." Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 2 Dec. (O. S. 22 Nov.) 1610, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 125.

⁴ "The Queen's masque is put off to the Feast of the Purification; either because the stage machinery is not in order or because their Majesties thought it well to let the Marshall [de Laverdin] depart first" (probably from France since he had not yet arrived at the English Court). Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 21 January (O. S. 11), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 164.

⁵ See Appendix 45.

⁶ See *supra*, 9.

⁷ *Supra*, 15.

⁸ *Supra*, 16.

the "princely Oberon"¹ by the "Faies," whether the little "Duke's" dancing in the centre of the fairy circle² caused comment, or whether the "great empress" when called forth for the dance,

I Faie and these beauties will suspect
That their forms you do neglect,
If you do not call them forth.

offered the Spaniard and his family the same favours as she poured upon the French Ambassador at *The Masque of Beauty* two years before,³ there is at present no means of knowing. The reader must himself be judge of the significance of the omission of such remarks from the correspondence of the time.

The Venetian reported that the Ambassador of the United Provinces was given invitation but "feigned displeasure."⁴

¹ "So that true to call
Him by his title is to say, He 's all," etc.

Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 76.

² See Ralph Winwood, *Memorials* (1825), 180-1.

³ See *supra*, 56.

⁴ See Appendix 45.

Since the English Court could not invite together Ambassadors from two powers between which there was a dispute over the matter of precedence, it was not unusual where possible, to conciliate the ambassador who was not to be present by extending to him an invitation upon condition that he would refuse it. See *infra*.

Indication of change in Spanish influence may be found by comparison of the following:

On 29 July (O. S. 19) 1609 Correr wrote to the Doge and Senate; "The Spanish and the party of the Archduke do not like to hear him [Caron, Dutch Ambassador] called Ambassador," in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 564.

On 15 January (O. S. 5), 1610, Correr wrote again; "The Ambassador of the States has never been in the same company with the Spanish Ambassador, and so in order to avoid a scandal, instead of being invited to the tourney he will be invited to dine with the King on Sunday," in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 763.

Finally, after a long period of waiting, which almost exhausted the patience of the English Court,¹ de Laverdin arrived.²

On the Sunday preceding the first of February the ceremony of "swearing the treaty" took place. The remainder of the day was spent in feasting and in dancing. The understanding between France and Spain is measured by the unseemly haste with which France attempted to recall her Ambassador, almost if not quite as soon as the treaty was signed. The message was brought by "couriers express" who caused a rumour to be spread that France believed herself to be on the verge of war and she wished de Laverdin to hasten home.³

But for reasons before shown,⁴ Queen Anne and her masquing mates had been impatiently awaiting his

At the Masque of the Prince's Creation, Caron was invited and present but in a subordinate place, See *Supra*, 60; also Appendix 43.

On the present occasion he was again refused invitation.

¹ See *supra*, 63.⁴

² "M. de Laverdin after waiting eleven days in Calais and putting to sea four times crossed over yesterday, but with so much difficulty that one of his escort and part of his crew are held for lost. He had to land on the beach and he has sent up for carriages and other necessaries." Marc' Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, 21 January (O. S. 11), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 164.

³ "After the ceremony of swearing the treaty in the Royal chapel on Sunday last, his Majesty kept the Marshal de Laverdin and the Lieger to dinner with him and the Prince, his son; and the day was passed in the usual dancing. . . . The Marshall is hurrying his departure, urged, as he says by couriers express; nothing keeps him but the Queen's Masque, which takes place the day after to-morrow. The couriers from France have caused a rumour to spread that peace will not last long in that kingdom. Here they regret it, because they desire its continuance and because the renunciation of Sully causes alarm as to the suppression of the Huguenots." Marc' Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, 11 Feb. (O. S. 1), 1610-11, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 115 No. 175.

⁴ *Supra*, 63.

coming and practising, *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* for more than a month after all was in readiness.¹ De Laverdin was therefore induced to remain for some days after signing the treaty in order that he might lend his presence to the exploitation of the greatness of "Britain" and her King "Albion."

Britain's the world, the world without.
 The King's the eye, as we do call
 The sun the eye of this great all.
 And is the light and treasure too;
 For 't is his wisdom all doth do.
 Which still is fixèd in his breast,
 Yet still doth move to guide the rest.
 The contraries which time till now
 Nor fate knew where to join, or how,
 Are Majesty and Love; which there
 And nowhere else, have their true sphere.
 Now, Sphinx, I've hit the right upon,
 And do resolve these All by one:
 That is, that you meant *Albion*.²

If there was really urgent business of state it was forced to wait the Queen's masque. The magnificence of his entertainment may be guessed from the fact that "Lambeth House remains in readiness to lodge him, and the revenues of that Bishopricks may serve to entertain him,"³ and from the fact that some days after the masque, he departed laden with "upwards of four thousand ounces of silver-gilt plate [from the King] and from the Queen a diamond of great value."

De Laverdin seems to have been personally very

¹ Cf. 65⁴; also 63².

² Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, 80.

³ Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood in John Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First* (1828), ii, 371-2; also in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, 239.

much flattered over the grand reception which England had given him² and France did not seem inclined toward unfriendliness. But if England had hoped to make trouble between France and Spain, she was doomed to disappointment.

Less than two months elapsed after the return of de Laverdin from London before a defensive alliance was signed between France and Spain (30 April, 1611), in which the two countries mutually agreed to help each other against all enemies from within or without.³

To celebrate this treaty a Franco-Spanish marriage alliance was announced by Marie de Medici in the French Council, 26 Jan. (O. S. 16), 1611.³ The policy of the French Queen had triumphed. Marie de Medici celebrated this triumph and the betrothal with an elaborate series of masques and fêtes famed throughout France for their magnificence. The French Court was full of unusual gaiety during the Christmas season, 1611-12, and every Sunday in February a masque was danced at the Louvre by the Dukes of Vendôme and of Chevreuse and Bassompierre.⁴

It was a season of most unusual activity in the French Court. The indoor masques of the Sunday evenings were only the nucleus of the big masques which, as was the custom on big occasions,⁵ proclaimed

² "We have no account of the Marshall's entertainment here; but Feb. 28, 1610-11, Mr. Beaulieu thus writes from Paris to Mr. Trumbull at Brussels; The Mareschall de Laverdin is so extraordinary well satisfied with his usage in England, as no man ever spake more in the commendation of the King and the Country than he doth, and generally all those of his company. And to make his Majestie's liberalitie appear the better towards him, he hath openly set up his present of rich plate, which is valued at 7 or 8000 crowns, to be seen by the Queen and the whole Court," in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, 262-3.

³ See Appendix 46. ³ See Appendix 47. ⁴ See Appendix 47.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, *The Masques of the Inns of Court*, 74 f.

the new European policy to the world. At the "Palace Royale," the fêtes under the patronage of the Queen, the Princesses, and the Ladies of the Nobility, lasted three days "(5, 6 et 7 avril)" and were seen by two hundred thousand people. The "Château de la Félicité" was exhibited by the Dukes of Guise and of Nevers, with their followers decked out in gold and silver embroidery, carrying lances and red standards, the reign of felicity being proclaimed by trumpets, drums, clarions, etc.¹

This was followed by a sham battle of symbolic purpose, a parade of various troupes, horsemen, musicians, captive kings, two elephants, two rhinoceroses, etc., and sibyls singing the praises of the Queen Regent. At night the Palace of Felicity was fired and disappeared amidst the sound of trumpets, drums, and clarions, in wondrous figures of flame.

On Friday, in order that all Paris might get the benefit of the show, the brilliant cavalcade paraded the streets on either side of the Seine to the "Pont-neuf" where they dispersed. On Saturday the Parisians had running at the ring, and in the evening a salute of two hundred cannon; fireworks in front of the Hotel de Ville and an illumination of the city with coloured paper lanterns so numerous that to people of that day the whole city seemed ablaze.²

These French masques and fêtes were used in much the same way and served much the same purpose as the masque which the English Court had used the year before to announce to the world the English-French treaty³; or as the celebrated series of masques through which England proclaimed a change of policy in the following year.⁴

¹ *Supra*, 67⁴.

² See *supra*, 61 f.

³ See Appendix 47.

⁴ See *infra*, 72 f.

The French celebration covered a period from the Christmas time to some time in April, and was of sufficient length and elaborateness to attract the attention of all the courts represented in Paris. As in England, the French employed the best efforts of writers, musicians, artists, etc., among whose products the still famed effort of Rubens in the Louvre will perhaps be best remembered. Since the present treatment limits itself to English masques, it seems unwise at this point to spend more time upon the masques of other European courts.

While such gaiety proclaimed the betrothal of France and Spain, the English Court seems to have been unusually quiet. The expense accounts indicate that a masque was performed during the Christmas season, 1611-12,¹ and Brotanek² (followed by Reyher³) has concluded that Ben Jonson's *Love Restored* was presented at this time. Whatever may have been the conditions surrounding this masque, it seems to have been lacking in diplomatic significance, since no single word, so far found, in all the correspondence, makes mention of it, nor of the presence or absence of Ambassadors.

From about 1608⁴ to 1610, England had sided, so far as her peace policy would allow, with Henry IV, whose sympathies were against Spain and with the Huguenots. Henry's death in 1610, and the triumph of the Catholic party under Marie de Medici, deprived James I of his best continental ally.

There has been much speculation concerning James's

¹ See *Lansdowne MSS.*, 164 f. 2, 12, 14, 28, and 30. *Additional MSS.*, 12498 f. 61. *Cotton MS. Titus B.*, iv f. 373.

² See Rudolf Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* (1902), 346-9.

³ See Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais* (1909), 521.

⁴ See *supra*, 47.

final attitude toward the political differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. Some historians think that Protestantism had more to offer James's vanity, as head of the combined Protestant forces. But there were questions concerning England's wishes in the matter and the needs of national preservation—all of which, however, belong to the realm of history proper.¹

It is sufficient to note here that England saw fit to join its political forces with those of Protestantism by a marriage alliance with the Count Palatine of the Rhine²—the head of the Protestant League. To announce to the continent so important a diplomatic venture required such elaborate entertainment as almost impoverished the English King.³

But France had just spent some three months in loudly proclaiming her policy; and England, always noted for the lavishness of her entertainment, must not be behind. The Thames must thunder louder than the Seine.⁴ Magnificent spectacular displays were arranged for the avowed purpose of letting strangers know that though England's policy was toward peace, she was able to enforce respect if need be through war.⁵

Costumes were provided of such "gorgeousness" that one Ambassador says "the imagination could

¹ "A gentleman in Lord Salisbury's confidence said to me that in Spain they found chicanery and in France indecision. The Friendship of the United Provinces is sure and lasting." A. Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 30 Sept. (O. S. 20), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 341.

² See S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642*, ii, 162.

³ *Ibid.*, Gardiner places the cost at £60,000, \$15,000,000 to \$18,000,000 of our money to-day.

⁴ See *supra*, 68; *infra*, 75.

⁵ See Appendix 48.

hardly grasp the spectacle. The King's cloak, breeches and jacket were all sewn with diamonds, a rope and jewel of diamonds also in his hat, of inestimable value. The Queen had in her hair so great a number of pear-shaped pearls,¹ the largest and most beautiful there are in the world; and there were diamonds all over her person, so that she was ablaze."²

Nor were the Royalty alone extravagant. "Lady Watton had a gowne that cost fifty pound [between \$1,250 and \$2,000] a yard the embroidering—the Lord Montague—bestowed fifteen hundred pound [between \$37,500 and \$60,000] in apparell for his two daughters,"³ and even one of the foreign Ambassadors wrote home that in order to ingratiate himself and his country into the goodwill of England;

"I must put my grooms and coachmen into liveries and cloaks of velvet and gold; and I myself have worn a different dress each day, as is the custom of this Court. I have bought very fine horses and have given several banquets to the leading gentlemen and ladies, to the complete extinction of the one thousand five hundred crowns which were voted me by your excellencies' kindness; nay, I have even spent something over and above. I will continue to entertain others. Everything that is done to honour this wedding is very pleasing to their Majesties, the Prince and all the Court."⁴

"The 4 honorable Innes of Court, af well the elders and graue Benchers of each houe, as the towardly yoong

¹ See Portrait of Queen Anne in National Portrait Gallery.

² Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 1 March (O. S. 19 Feb.), 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498, No. 775.

³ Chamberlain to M^{rs} Carleton, 18 February, 1612-3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

⁴ Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 1 March, 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498, No. 775. Cf. Appendix 52.

actiue gallant Gentlemen of the fame houfes, being of infinite defire to expresse their fingular loue and duteous affection to his maiestie, and to performe some memorable & acceptable service worthy their own reputation, in honor of this nuptiall, & thereupon consulted, and agreed amongst themfelues to fette out two rich and stately masks, and to performe them brauely, without respect to charge or expences." ¹

Successful masque writers vied with each other to tell the story of the great diplomatic union in a series of three masques, the beauty, extravagance and display of which the world had probably never known.

The Masque of Lords, written by Thomas Campion for the marriage evening, February 14, 1613, celebrated the "Additur Germaniæ Robur Britannicum: ecquid esse par potest?"² proclaimed by the sibyl as she had the year before sung the praises of the Queen Regent in Paris.³

The Venetian Ambassador says this first masque, "which was at the King's charges, and was danced by ladies and gentlemen of title, was remarkable for the decoration of the theatre, for three changes of scene, for the dresses, and for nine choruses of voices and instruments";⁴ and again he writes:

"In the evening I was at the Masque which was very beautiful, with three changes of scene. First of all certain stars danced in the heavens by a most ingenious device; then came a dance of children; finally of lords and ladies." ⁵

¹ John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

² Thomas Campion, *Masque of Lords*, in the "Sibylla's" speech.

³ See *supra*.

⁴ Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 10 May (O. S. 1), 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 531, No. 832.

⁵ Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 1 March (O. S. Feb. 19), 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498, No. 775.

Chamberlain alone is less enthusiastic. He says, "that night was the Lords Maske whereof I heare no great commendation save only for riches, theyre devises being long and tedious and more like a play than a maske."¹

The masque of the second evening, February fifteenth, was written by George Chapman for the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn. It proclaimed the English interest in America, and prophesied for the married pair honour and riches such as they believed would come from the great gold mines of "Virginia."²

But the audience which could be accommodated in Whitehall (even though "there was a course taken and so notified that no lady or gentlewoman shold be admitted to any of these fights wth a verdingale, w^{ch} was to gaine the more roome,"³ and even though, "there were more scaffolds and more provifion made for roome then ever I saw both in the hall and bankett-ting roome, besides a new roome built to dine sup and

Cf. "In the end of the first part of this song, the upper part of the scene was discovered by the sudden fall of a curtain; then in clouds of several colours (the upper part of them being fiery, and the middle heightened with silver) appeared eight stars of extraordinary bigness, which so were placed as that they seemed to be fixed between the firmament and the earth. In the front of the scene stood *Prometheus*, attired as one of the ancient heroes." Thomas Campion, *The Masque of Lords*, in H. A. Evans, *English Masques*, 76.

¹ John Chamberlain to M^r^s Carleton, 18 February, 1612, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, 30.

² "In August, 1613, favourable news reached England from Virginia of the capture of the chief Powhatan's daughter, the famous Pocahontas, and the consequent readiness of the chief to make terms of peace, with an offer to show the settlers some rich gold mines. The Earl of Arundel told Barbarigo what excitement this news had caused in England, where large sums had been promised for a fresh return." Allen B. Hinds, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, *Preface*, xxv.

³ See Chamberlain to M^r^s Carleton, 18 February, 1612-13, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

daunce in") was not large enough for England's advertising purposes. Paris had shown its "Château de la Félicité"¹ to two hundred thousand people and then felt the need of parading the streets on either side of the Seine in order to make its proclamations loud enough, so "Upon Shroue-mundaie at night the gentlemen of the middle Temple and Lincolnes Inne with their Trayne for this bufineffe assembled in Chancery-Lane, at the house of Sir Edward Philips, Maister of the Rolles, and about eight of the clocke, they marched thence through the strand to the Court at Whitehall."²

The Venetian Ambassador in London gave official notification to his government that

First came a hundred gentlemen on horseback, accompanied by a hundred grooms with lights in their hands. Then followed a little Masque on horseback with a large number of torches all alone; then two triumphal cars with musicians dressed in silver with turbans on their heads. These represented the priests of the Sun in Virginia. Then came the great Masque, all being dressed in cloth and silver, golden suns and plumes. They represented Princes of Virginia with crowns of feathers and pearls on their heads, and their hair down to their shoulders as is the custom of that country; their horses, too, were all caparisoned in silver and suns. Then came a hundred blacks dressed in gold and blue, the dress of Indian slaves. Then came a great number of lights borne by men on horseback, dressed in silver and gold, like the great Masque except the crowns. Then a triumphal car with figures inside representing Honour and Riches, and round it marched two hundred halberdiers. When the King entered the Hall one saw a mountain all full of crags and on the top the Temple of Honour, made of Silver; an octagon with silver statues round the cornice; on its summit two golden wings sprang from

¹ See *supra*, 68.

² John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

a silver ball, signifying that Fortune and her son Honour had resolved to settle forever in this Kingdom. Hard by the Temple was a wood and in it a huge tree-trunk which contained the whole of the little Masque. Hardly had the King appeared when the crags came forward five paces towards his Majesty; Clouds gathered and the mountain split, and there appeared a rich mine of gold with all the Masque inside and a vast number of torches; it all took place in a moment. Then appeared the sun as at its setting; the priests adored it and part of them sang to lutes; they were answered by voices and instruments from the Temple, and from other parts of the Hall. Then Riches began to speak and again the crags moved; then after great eulogies of the couples, pronounced by Riches and Honour, all the Masque began to dance a ballet, with such finish that it left nothing to be desired.¹

The third masque produced for the occasion was written by Beaumont and presented by Francis Bacon for the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn. It was conceived by Bacon² to announce the union of England and the Palatine by "a marriage of the river of Thames to the Rhine."³

Of this last masque, Chamberlain writes:

On teufday yt came to Grayes Ynne and the inner Temples Turne to come wth theyre maske, wherof S^r Fra: Bacon was the chiefe contriuer, and because the former came on horfe backe, and open chariots they made chuse to come by water from winchester place in southwark: (w^{ch} futed well enough wth theyre deuife, w^{ch} was the mariage of the riuier of Thames to the Rhine: and theyre shew by water was very gallant by reason of infinite ftore of lights very curiously fet and placed: and many boats and barges

¹ Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 10 May, 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 531, No. 832. Cf. also Appendix 49 and 50.

² See *infra*.

wth deuifes of light and lampes wth three peales of ordinance one at theyre taking water, another in the temple garden, and the last at theyre landing, w^{ch} passage by water cost them better then three hundred pound: they were receued at the priuie stayres: and great expectation theyre was that they shold euery way exceed theyre competitors that went before them both in deuife daintines of apparell and above all in dauncing (wherein they are held excellent) and esteemed far the properer men: but by what yll planet yt fell out I know not, they came home as they went wth out doing anything, the reason whereof I cannot yet learne thoroughly, so but only was that the hall was so full that yt was not possible to auoyde yt or make roome for them besides that most of the Ladies were in the galleries to see them land. and could not get in, but the worst of all was that the king was so wearied and sleepe wth fitting vp almost two whole nights before that he had no edge to yt, wherupon Sr Fra: Bacon aduentured to interest his maiestie that by this disgrace he wold not as yt were bury them quicke and I heare the king shold aunfwer that then they must burie him quicke for he could last no longer, but wth all gaue then very goode wordes and appointed them to come again on faterday: but the grace of theyre maske is quite gon when theyre apparell hath ben already shewed and theyre deuifes vented so that how yt will fall out God knows for they are much discouraged, and out of countenance, and the world faves yt comes to pafse after the old prouerb the properer men the worfe lucke.¹

Notwithstanding the disappointment of the masquers, the masque was successfully performed on the following Saturday:

At the entrance of their Majesties and their Highnesses, one saw the scene, with forests; on a sudden half of it

¹ John Chamberlain to M^{ris} Carleton, 18 February, 1612-3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

changed to a great mountain with four springs at its feet. The subject of the Masque was that Jove and Juno desiring to honour the wedding and the conjunction of two such noble rivers, the Thames and the Rhine, sent separately Mercury and Iris, who appeared; and Mercury then praised the couple and the Royal house, and wishing to make a ballet suitable to the conjunction of two such streams, he summoned from the four fountains, whence they spring and which are fed by rain, four nymphs who hid among the clouds and the stars that ought to bring rain. They then danced, but Iris said that a dance of one sex only was not a live dance. Then appeared four cupids, while from the Temple of Jove, came five idols and they danced with the stars and the nymphs. Then Iris, after delivering her speech, summoned Flora, caused a light rain to fall, and then came a dance of shepherds. Then in a moment the other half of the scene changed, and one saw a great plateau with two pavilions, and in them one hundred and fifty Knights of Olympus, then more tents like a host encamped. On the higher ground was the Temple of Olympian Jove all adorned with statues of gold and silver, and served by a number of priests with music and lights in golden Candela-bra. The knights were in long robes of silk and gold, the priests in gold and silver. The knights danced, their robes being looped up with silver, and their dance represented the introduction of the Olympian games into this kingdom. After the ballet was over their Majesties and their Highnesses passed into a great Hall especially built for the purpose, where were long tables laden with comfits and thousands of mottoes. After the King had made the round of the tables everything was in a moment rapaciously swept away.

London 10th May 1613.¹

During all these magnificent nuptial festivities,

¹ Foscarini to the Doge and Senate in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 832.

there was no serious quarrel over the question of precedence between the two great powers most concerned. It was Spain, his "Catholic Majesty," who was most in danger from the policy proclaimed,¹ and though the English offered the Spanish Ambassador the courtesy of an invitation to the wedding, it was probably expected that he would absent himself, as he did, on the usual excuse of illness.²

The English admitted into the ceremonies themselves, on at least two occasions, things which must have grated upon the feelings of Spain; first, in the naval display on the Thames the Saturday before the wedding, they depicted a sea-fight in which the Spaniards were defeated by the Turks,³ and again, the new marriage room was decorated with tapestries proclaiming the naval victory of England over Spain in 1588.⁴

The absence of the Spanish Ambassador from the

¹ "The Council have asked several gentlemen what help they would give if this kingdom were ever harassed by foreigners, meaning the King of Spain. Many replied that they would keep at their own charges some two, some four and some even more infantry or horse during the whole time they might be needed. They were thanked and the offer accepted, should the need ever arise, and they say it may be nearer than is expected." A. Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 8 March, 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 782.

² "The Spaniard, was or wold be ficke." John Chamberlain to Sr. Dudley Carleton, 25 February, 1612-3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 48. See also Appendix 51.

³ "They had sight of another argosay or galliaza which seemed to be Spain, which likewise, after a fierce conflict, they made prize of, and with much triumph tendered the same up also to the Turkish admiral." John Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, 540. See also *ibid.* 529.

⁴ "All the great Lords of the priue counfell = the chiefe ladies of the Court & others, dined that day in the newe large roome, builded for ye purpose, which roome was adorned with stately hangings, curioullie wrought, representing the sea fight between ye English and Spanish fleets in the yeere 1588." John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

wedding festivities easily gave the French Ambassador the lead,¹ and reduced the quarrel over precedence to a struggle between the representatives of Venice and of the Archduke.²

An invitation was sent to the Ambassador of the Archduke telling him that since the French and Venetian Ambassadors were invited for the first day's solemnity of the marriage, the King requested his attendance at a later date. This Boiscot (the Archduke's Ambassador) refused, because he said he was unable to accept an invitation to a later function, when Venice was given priority of date, without prejudicing the cause of the Archduke.³

James answered this complaint in French explaining that the Venetian Ambassador had "extraordinary allowance appointed" him from Venice to add to the pomp of the English occasion and that he paid the English the honour of putting his men into livery with like purpose, "Therefore his Majesty had all reason to correspond with the said Republic in like civilities."⁴

Having gained invitation with little opposition, France and Venice spent their time in efforts to heighten the honour paid them. The French Ambassador attempted to secure the privilege of preceding the Prince, and the Venetian objected to being seated at the wedding dinner on a stool; though the Prince was provided with nothing better, the bride and groom only, sitting on chairs.⁵

¹ See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Appendix 51.

⁴ See Appendix 52.

⁵ "At this time the French & Venetian Ambassadors invited to the marriage, were not free from punctillios, that made an offer to precede the Prince. This stood upon it, that they were not to sit at the Table without chaires (though the Prince, (the King not present) had but a stool (the Count Palatine, & the Princess only for the honour of the day, having chayres) and insisting upon a formality that the carver

Serious embarrassment was caused to the wife of the French Ambassador, because the lady to whose seat she was assigned refused to move down until the French Ambassador threatened to go home.¹

Sir Noel Caron, Ambassador from the United Provinces, was a "continually entertained guest during the solemnity of the marriage" though of course in a minor place. He was the only member of the diplomatic corps who seems to have made no trouble.²

King James was so happy over the success of the masques (for which the masquers had

"employed the best wits and skilfullest artizens in deuifing, compofing and creating their seuerall ftrange properties, excellent fpeeches, pleafant deuifes and delicate mufique, braue in habite, rich in ornaments, in demeanor courtly, in their going by land and water very ftately and orderly: all which with their rare inuentions and variable entertainments of time were fuch as the like was neuer performed in England by any Societie, and was now as gratioufly accepted off by his Maieftie the Queene, the Prince, the Bride and Bridegroom"),³ [that he] "inuited the makers wth theyre afsistants to the number of forty to a folemne fupper in the new marriage roome where they were well treated and much graced wth kifsing his Ma^{ties} hand and euery one hauing a particular accoglienza from him the K. Q. P. Palatin and Lady Elizabeth fat at a table by themfelues: and the great

was not to stand above him but neither of these prevailed in their reasonlesse pretences." *Sir John Finet's Observations* in Lord Chamberlain's office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 1, page 1 f.

¹ See Appendix 53.

² "The Ambaffador of the United Provinces (Sir Noel Caron) kept himfelfe all this while quiet without question of *prius* or *posterius*, or thrufting for publike note, being a continually entertained guest during the folemnytie of the marriage." *Ibid.*

³ John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

Lords and Ladies wth the maskers (aboue fowre-fcore in all) fat at another long table."¹

So England closed one of the most successful advertising campaigns, that the world had ever known. Considered aside from the diplomatic significance, the English were justified in complaining with John Chamberlain that "this extreem cost and riches makes vs all poore,"² for even so early an estimate of the masques as that made by Foscarini in January, placed their "cost upwards of one hundred thousand crowns."³ In addition to the initial expense England spent much for the demonstrations on parade; and private expenses were very heavy. Considered, however, as instruments of international policy for which the masques were used,⁴ the cost of their production dwindles perceptibly.

The present chapter has pointed out how, during the years between 1608 and 1614, the masque continued to be used, both in England and on the continent, as an instrument of state. Whether arranged for the specific and avowed purpose of achieving some diplomatic advantage for England, or having a diplomatic significance forced upon it by continental representatives in the English Court, the masque is closely involved with the policies which finally ranged England

¹ John Chamberlain to Sr Dudley Carleton, 25 February, 1612-3, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxii, No. 48.

² See, John Chamberlain to M^{rs} Carleton, 18 February, 1612-3, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

³ See, Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 11 January [O. S. 1], 1613, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 473.

⁴ "Yesterday I recalled the question of audience to the Chamberlain, who told me to come to the Palace to-morrow evening to see the Masque and that we would settle about the audience. I am so highly honoured that there is nothing left for me to desire." Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 1 March [O. S. 19 Feb.], 1613, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 500, No. 776.

for the time being on the side of Protestantism. Its connections with the further workings of this policy remains for later treatment.

CHAPTER III

1613-1616—MASQUES LESS IMPORTANT DIPLOMATICALLY—FRIENDLINESS BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN

THE rise of a Protestant party enforced by so powerful an ally as England, caused a serious loss to the prestige of "His Catholic Majesty." Spain hoped to retrieve this loss by the double marriage alliance with France, by successful interference between hostile powers, and by occupying James's attention with other things.¹ For the years immediately following 1613, the opponent of Spain in continental struggles was not so much France as England.² But, in the complicated condition of continental politics, England was not ready for an open rupture with Spain, and therefore she entered into a three-cornered contest in which the three countries most concerned attempted to deceive each other into peaceful relations by continued proffers of marriage alliances.

This state of affairs may in some degree account for the less unfriendly attitude toward each other, of the French and Spanish ambassadors in the English Court during the years immediately following 1613, though their jealousy was still apparent in minor disturbances. Invitations to the masques and other English favours, were accepted, without permitting anything to cause

¹ See Appendix 54.

² See Appendix 55.

the serious ruptures, so characteristic of the earlier Jacobean years. Possibly because of this delicate relation between European countries, no member of the English Royal family took part, as a masquer, in the official Court masques, for a time. The masquing of a Royal personage, always wonderfully enhanced the diplomatic importance of the occasion as we have seen.¹

For the Christmas season, 1613-14, immediately following the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Count Palatine, there were three events of minor significance but of such like importance that it was difficult to determine in which of the three occasions lay greatest favour. The marriage of the Earl of Somerset, who was Lord Chamberlain to the King and his favourite, promised, however, the greatest honour because of the rank of the groom and the King's friendliness toward him. This importance was enhanced by the fact that James had the marriage with its masque performed at his Court at his own expense. The event of next importance was the marriage of the Lady Jane Drummond, "first Lady of the Queenes Bedd chamber at Candlemas" in Somerset House at the expense of the Queen.² The Twelfthnight masque,

¹ See *supra*, *passim*.

² "the king came to towne on tewfday, met by the Q. and the LL^s almost as far as tiballs, he makes no longer stay here then till monday next at farthest, yesterday was afolemne day at court to end christmas, this day the L of Roxborough marries M^{rs} Jane Drummond at Somerfet houfe, whether the k is invited to lie this night and shalbe entertained wth shewes and deuifes, specially a pastorall that shalbe represented in a little square paned court: so that you see what little time is referued for bufines. . . .

"from London this 3^d of February 1613-[4] John Chamberlain." In *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxvi, 18, endorsed to Carleton, English Ambassador at Venice.

"this day feuenight the L of Roxborough married M^{rs} Jame Drommond at formerlethoufe or Queenes court (as yt must now be called)

The Masque of Flowers, was not this year of first importance, because it was not so essentially an affair of the King or the Queen as the other events. Sir Francis Bacon bore the expense of *The Masque of Flowers* and gave it for the King's honour in the name of the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court.

It would seem that the wedding with its masque given by the King at his Court, should take precedence over the wedding given by the Queen in the Queen's Court (Somerset House) and that an invitation to the marriage of the King's favourite should offer greater honour than an invitation to the marriage of the first Lady of the Queen's bedchamber. In fact, we find that the French Ambassador felt it to be so. It would, therefore, seem that James and his ministers had planned to recompense Spain for some of the slights suffered in the great marriage year just preceding, when he arranged to invite the Spanish Ambassador to the first marriage festivities and *The Masque of the Marriage of the Earl of Somerset* prepared by Campion for the night of the twenty-sixth of December, 1613.

Spain had changed ambassadors and the new representative, Sarmiento, had "neuer seen any of our [English] shewes before."¹ But the European situation

the King taried there till faterday after dinner; the entertainment was great and cost the Quene as she sayes, aboue 3000£ the pastoral made by La: Daniell was solemene and dull, but perhaps better to be read then reprinted, the L: Mayor and all the aldermen were inuited for the next day after the mariage and had rich gloues, they went thether in pompe, and were graciously vied and besides theyre great chere and many healths had a play:

"from London this 20th of February 1613

"Yo^r L^{ps} to command

"John Chamberlain."

Endorsed to Carleton at Venice in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxvi, No. 20.

¹ See Appendix 56.

made James careful to placate other powers. On the "23^d of Dec^{br} 1613" John Finett, assistant Master of Ceremonies, says:

I was sent to the Ambafador of Venice (Sir W^m Button having been sent at the same time, & on the same errant to the Ambafador of France) with this formall mefsage; that according to his Majesties most Royall disposition, & desire to give all due content to Ministers of Forrain Princes whereof he himfelfe (the Ambafador) had the yeare before received a particular testimony, having been then invited together with the French Amb^ſ to the marriage of the Princefs Palatine) I was now sent to signify his Majesties pleasure to this purpose. That his Majesty was perswaded & with all desirous that his excellencie would not pafse any Mis-construction upon his proceeding, if the Spanish Amb^ſ newly come into the Kingdome, & who had not yet been present here at any entertainments of Court) were together with the Arch-Dukes Amb^ſ invited to the Marriage of the Earle of Summerset, and not he (the Amb^ſ of Venice) that if he would be pleased to honour with his presence the Maske of Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be performed on twelfenight (a time amongst us of the Solemnest observance) he should be most welcome to it, & in the meantime I was furthur to let him know, that there was an intention he should be invited to the marriage of the Lady Jane Dromond (first Lady of the Queenes Bedd Chamber) at Candlemas.

To this, his anfwere was a question, whether the King intended the Solemnitie towards for publicke or for private? This I answered I had no commiffion to resolve as from the mouth of his Majesty, and muſt therefore anfwere him with filence; But if he asked my opinion as his friend, and Servant, I held it for private and in no part publike, ſince I took it to be an honor his Majesty was pleased to caſt upon one of his moſt favoured Servants to have the marriage Solemnized in his owne Houſe, and to

invite to it whom he should think fit at his Princely pleasure. This answer seemed to give him such satisfaction, as (he said) he was of the same opinion, and added that since his Majesty had vouchsafed the last yeare to do him the honour and right to prefer him before another (unjustly pretending) in his invitation to so publique a solemnity, as was the marriage of his onely daughter, he should be most incivill to except against his pleasure in matter of so private a condition; but ought rather to returne him (as he did now) most humble thanks for the most gracious regard he discovered to have of him, and so consequently of the state whereof he was a Representant.

The next morning I was sent to the French Ambassadors, who (though he might seeme the day before to hold one way with the Venetian, and had corresponded with him to that purpose, (whether another and he did *entre entendre*, becomes me no more to judge, then to declare) appeared now to have taken another way by himselfe, and I deliuered to him a formall invitation of the marriage, which (having first asked me whether the Spanish Ambassador were yet invited, and I answered I thought no) he humbly beseech his Majesty to pardon him, if he excused his appearance at the marriage, in regard that that night (he said) had the defluxion of a Rhume into his Teeth and a fit of an ague whereof he doubted the returne. I was scarcely back at Court with his answer, when I was told that a gentleman from the Venetian Ambassador had been to seeke me there, and at my house, where at the last having found me, he said that his Lord desired me that if ever I would do him favour, I would take the paines to come to him presently; I winding the cause to be some new buz gotten into his Braine from some intelligence he had from the French of the Morning's proceeding, excused my so present repaire with the necessity of my commanded immediate attendance on my Lord Chamberlaine, which I did to gaine both time and further instructions from his Lordship, wherewith so soone, as I was sufficiently armed, I went to the Venetian,

and in presence of his Secretary, Mulcorus (whom he desired might be admitted to our Conference) he intreated me to repeate the wordes of my invitation, and those of his answer, which I yielded to (after some discovery of my infatisfaction to be so punctually pressed, as if he had meant to trip me) and in conclusion had his approbation, that all so farr was both in mannage and report without exception; but that which now (he added) troubled him and made him so to trouble me, was a later procedure of his Majesty who (as if the State he represented had either in affection or demonstration of forwardnes to do the King Service, been inferiour to any) had that morning vouchsafed the French Ambassador and not him a Solemne invitation.

To this (after I had according to my Instructions brought him to confesse that the French Ambassador had indeed given him that intelligence) I replied, that to be plain with him I had no sooner received the message of his desire to speake to me, but conceiving it was to the purpose that I now found, I did repaire to my Lord Chamberlaine with my opinion, and for his Lordships further direction, which I said was this. That if the Ambassador of Venice should except against any favour shewed the French beyond him, I should let him know, it was not that his Majesty intended a difference in distribution of honour for their more and lesse ceremoniall Invitation; but that if amidst the confusion usually happening at such Solemnities, there were any omission, he desired it might be interpreted as chanceable, and not of designe, which the better to expresse I came (I told him) even then from my Lord Chamberlaine and so from his Majesty with the same order to him, as I had done to the French, to invite him, when not yet satisfied with an errand so ingrosse, he desired me to deliver particularly, and in the same wordes, the Invitation I had carryed to the French Ambassador, which when I had punctually performed, he returned this finall answer. That since I was there present a witnessse of his Realitie, he would not, as the French Ambassador had done, excuse

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his absence with his fickleness, but was desirous his Majesty might know (after his humblest and Thankfullest acknowledgment for his favour in his Invitation) that he took the publick honour he had received the last yeare for so substantiall a Testimony of his Royall mind towards him (as in these private Solemnities for him to except against inviting this person or that whom he saw his Majesty was inclined to make his guests at the Feast without overthrowing it with the presence of others) was to presume to take from him that liberty and pleasure, which he (the Ambassador) would strive, and had ever strived to observe with his best diligence, and obedience. With this answer I was parting, when he suddenly stayed me with the reading of another scruple (& hinc illae lachryme) and asked me whether the Arch-Dukes Ambassador were also invited whereof, when I had said (to keepe my selfe clean from categoricall assertions) when I knew not fully the King my Masters pleasure) that I could not directly resolve him, he would needs persuade me that I disssembled, and that no doubt, what soever I should say, I had in charge to performe that service of Invitation, first to him, and after in my returne to Court to the other; a persuasion, which as soone as I found it aimed at (what he was most jealous of) precedence, I did not gainsay it, holding it ill manners to marr a beliefe of an Ambassadors making.*

In this masque,

only persons of title took part; it was very rich & showy. The Queen danced in it to please the King and honor the bride & bridegroom. . . . The King and Queen were placed on a dais under a canopy at the top of the room; the Prince by the side of the King, and Sarmiento [Spanish Ambassador] side by side with the Queen the only difference

* Public Record Office, John Finett's *Philoxenis* in Lord Chamberlain's Office, Class 5, *Miscellaneous*, 5, No. 1, p. 13 f.

being that the King and Queen were seated on high chairs; and the Prince and Sarmiento on Stools.¹

The Agents of Savoy and of Florence were invited to the supper and masque of the Earl of Somerset. When they began to make conditions they were answered shortly that the Court was under no obligation to invite mere agents or those less than Ambassadors, and they might come or not as they chose, whoever got there first, getting first place. In this the Savoyard seems to have won.² The Ambassador of the Arch-Duke was invited to both marriages but was too sick to be present at the latter. It is interesting to note here that the assistant Master of Ceremonies, in recording the illness of the Arch-Duke's Ambassador, finds it necessary to insert that he was sick "in earnest,"³ so common had the excuse of illness become when ambassadors were restrained from presenting themselves at court functions in which the countries they represented would be compromised by their presence.

With the exception of the Royal wedding in 1613, this wedding of the Earl of Somerset was one of the richest of the wedding festivities given at the Court.

S^r Rafe Winwood was there likewise and had a very fayre payre of gloues of three pound price; w^{ch} he well deferued for he made a fuit of apparell against the wedding of only doublet hose and cloke, all blacke and wthout any kinde of gold silver or embroderie that cost him about fourcore pound⁴ [between \$2000 and \$4000].

¹ Letter from Sarmiento to Marquis de la Hinojosa, London, 10 January [O. S. 1], 1614. Translated by Guyangas and found in Public Record Office, London, in *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, xxxv.

² See Appendix 57.

³ See Appendix 58.

⁴ John Chamberlain to M^{rs} Carleton, 30 Dec., 1613, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxv, No. 53.

The celebration of so important an event, as the marriage of the Lord Chamberlain, required more than one masquing evening. Ben Jonson was commissioned by "Gentlemen, the King's Servants" to prepare *The Irish Masque* which was presented on Wednesday, December twenty-ninth, at the Court. The Irish dialect, the praises of James, or perhaps the happy allusions, in *The Irish Masque*, to the married pair and their relatives, so pleased the audience that it was repeated on the following Monday, January third. There is no means of knowing whether or not foreign ambassadors heard the Irish dialect on December twenty-ninth, though there is an interesting allusion to ambassadors in *The Irish Masque*.¹

Spain, always awake to her own advantage, frequently used Ireland as a means through which she kept England in fear. This fact brought to the author, and to those who were responsible for *The Irish Masque*, severe censure that in the present condition of European affairs, the risk of offending Ireland should have been incurred. "the loftie maskers were so well liked at court the last week that they were appointed to per-

See also *ibid.*, "I heare little or no commendation of the mafke made by the Lords that night, either for deuife or dancing, only yt was rich and costly."

¹ *Den.* And pleash ty graish I vill tell tee, tere vash a great newesh in Ireland of a great brideal of one o' ty lords here ant be.

Pat. Ty man Robyne tey Shay.

Don. Mary ty man Toumaish, h'ish daughter tey shay.

Der. Ay, ty good man Tomaish o' Shuffolke."

"*Don.* He Knoke ush o' te pay there, ash we come by, by a good token.

Der. I' fayt, tere ish very mush phoyt stick here sitting to-njght. He takes ush for no shquires I tinke.

Pat. No, he tinksh not ve be imbasheters."

forme yt again on monday yet theyre deuife (w^{ch} was a enimicall imitation of t[he] Irish) was not so pleasing to many, w^{ch} thincke [this] no time (as the case stands) to exasperat that nat[ion] by making it ridiculous.”¹

James, not yet satisfied that his favourite had received sufficient honour,

“the L. Mayor was sent to by the K. to entertain this new married couple wth theyre frends and followers, but he making an excuse that his house was too little to receue them yt was not accepted, but word sent back that he might command the biggest hall in the towne: whereupon calling a counsaile yt was resolved to do yt at the charge of the citie in the Marchant-taylers hall vpon foure dayes warning, and the[n] there they went yesternight about fixe a clocke, thorough cheapside all by torch-light, accompanied by the father and mother of the bride, and all the Lords and Ladies about the Court—the men were well mounted and richly arrayed making a gudly shew, the women all in coaches. I do not heare yet how all things passed there for I haue not ben abroad, only I understand that after supper they had a play and a maske [*The Masque of Cupid*, by Middleton²] and after that a banquet.”³

On Twelfthnight, two nights after the City's forced entertainment of the Earl of Somerset, “S^r Fra: Bacon” presented, for the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, *The Masque of Flowers*, “A maske to honor this mariage w^{ch} will stand him in about 2000£” (\$50,000 to \$80,000 of our money to-day). To Lord Bacon's *Masque of Flowers*, as we have seen, the French and Venetian Ambassadors were invited in part exchange for the

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, 5 January, 1613 [4], in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxvi, No. 2. Cf. also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, No. 166.

² See A. H. Bullen, *Works of Middleton*, I, Introduction.

³ See Appendix 56.

favours of the Earl of Somerset festivities which they were forced to forego because of the presence of the Ambassador from Spain. To receive a fair equivalent of what Spain had received they also attended the marriage of the Lady Jane Drummond, at whose wedding they used every most laughable device to reach or outstrip the Spanish advancement. First, the French Ambassador requested that he might be present at the bridal supper with the entertainment after it, and that he might be excused from attending the bridal dinner. When he was asked for a reason, he said, that since it was his Lenten season, he could not eat two flesh meals in one day. He was answered that the great feasts were always provided with fish. Pressed further, he admitted that since neither King nor Queen were to be present at the dinner, he would be subordinated to the Spaniard by attending. Before his request could reach the Queen, however, he changed his mind and decided to attend both the bridal dinner and supper upon condition that he be permitted to sit on a chair instead of a stool.¹ All these little exactions were endured by England at this time, because negotiations for a marriage with France were in a most promising state of progress.² So the Ambassadors of France and of Venice sat at Lady Drummond's bridal dinner on chairs. In the evening they were entertained "with shewes and deuifes, specially a pastorall . . . represented in a little square paned court."³ Though "the entertain-

¹ See Appendix 59.

² "At the beginning of 1614 it seemed as if nothing further were needed [for the English-French marriage] but the formality of signing the necessary documents." *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii. *Preface*, xv.

³ Chamberlain to Carleton, 3 Feb., 1613-14, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxvi, No. 18.

ment was great and cost the Queen about 3000£;" Chamberlain says "the pastoral made by La: Danell was folemne and dull but perhaps better to be read then represented."

The Spanish Ambassador reported to Philip the Third that he attended the marriage of Lady Drummond, but he must have gone incognito. He minimised the importance of the favours to France by announcing that "the whole entertainment consisted of a comedy which was acted there."

The assistant Master of Ceremonies notes

that the scope and end of this question [asking privileges] mooveing from the French Ambaffador was, that by some addition of honour, he might get the start he seemed to have lost of preceeding the Spaniard and which himselfe bragged he had now recovered (and was indeed judged so to have done by the three Lords mentioned) when dineing with the Bride, he had the honour of the Princeffe company and supping, of both their Majesties, neither of these having fallne to the Spanifh Ambaffador at the Marriage of the Earle of Sommerfet.³

The year, 1613-14, that saw the culmination of honour to one favourite of James I, saw also his decline. The Court had, for some time, been growing impatient of the self-assertiveness and impertinence of Somerset whose marriage festivities, including the masques in his honour, occupied the chief place in the holiday events of 1613-14. During the latter part of the year George Villiers [later Duke of Buckingham] was introduced to the King. His advances in favour were so rapid as to

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, 20 Feb., 1613-14, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxvi, No. 20.

² See *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, xxxv, Feb. 13, 1614.

³ Finett: *Finetti Philoxemis*.

be the talk of all the Court. By the time of the Christmas season, 1614-15, he had so captivated James and displaced Somerset, that Ben Jonson was employed on *Mercury Vindicated* which was appointed for Twelfth-night for the purpose of introducing the new favourite, whose unusual qualities of appearance, grace and manner found the masque a fit instrument to give these qualities full play.²

There were plenty of plays given during this season, the Court giving one "euery night both holy-dayes and working-dayes."³ But as usual interest centred in the coming masque. To this masque in honour of the young Villiers, there seems to have been no thought of inviting the French Ambassador. Things were not going so well in France and James began to cool toward the proposed French alliance.⁴

The Spaniard accepted an invitation to *Mercury Vindicated* for the evening of Twelfthnight, 1615, in the English Court. With him was honoured the Am-

² "And yet for all this penurious world we speake of a maske this Christmas toward w^{ch} the K. geues 1500 £ the principall motiue wherof is thought to be the gracing of younge Villers and to bring him on the stage." Chamberlain to Carleton, 1 December, 1614, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxviii, No. 65.

Cf. also "a maske of gentlemen set forth at the charge of his Majesty," John Finett, *Philoxenis*, in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous*, 5, No. 1, p. 21.

³ Cf. *infra*, 116.

⁴ See Chamberlain to Carleton, 5 Jan., 1614-15, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxx, No. 1.

⁴ "when everythng seemed to be in good train [for the French-English marriage] news reached England of the withdrawal from [the French] Court of the Prince of Condé and other princes of the blood and of their manifesto against the Queen Regent and her favourites. James was keenly interested in what was taking place across the Channel and kept his finger upon the pulse of French sentiment by means of frequent couriers. He remained eager for the match for a while, but in such unfavourable conditions the project drooped though it did not actually die." See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, Preface, xv.

bassador of Venice, who for some years had been invited only with the Representative of France, but a matter which had been a growing cause of dispute between England and Spain, thrust itself forth for settlement at this masque much to the embarrassment of all the Court. Big international intrigues concerned themselves with the disposition of the Netherlands before the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613. Spain, opposed by France and England, had been forced to make a treaty with the States, upon which the latter founded claims to independence. The recognition of this independence entitled the States to an Ambassador in the Courts so recognising them; and in 1610, Spain had admitted the States' Ambassador to invitation to an English masque with her own, and had taken what consolation she could from the fact that the Dutch representative was forced during the evening to accept a position greatly subordinating his country to Spain.¹

On the night of January 6, 1615, representatives of both Spain and Holland found themselves in the capacity of ambassadors at the Twelfthnight masque in the presence of King and Court. The Ambassador from Spain, Gondomar, delayed the masque by appealing to the King for the removal or subordination of the Ambassador from Holland. James I answered that Gondomar's predecessor had admitted the States' Ambassador in his presence without question.² This Gondomar denied on the strength of his instructions, which James requested that he immediately produce.

While the matter in dispute was under discussion, the Court were all waiting for *Mercury Vindicated* to begin. The King, Council, and the other Ambassadors

¹ Cf. *supra*, 60, also Appendix 43.

² Cf. Appendix 43.

became involved and the discussion increased to a storm. Being unable to effect a compromise, the Spaniard finally withdrew, in some heat, followed by the States' Ambassador who was requested by the King to leave, lest it should be said that preference was given the States over Spain.¹ The affair caused much comment and "no good bloode neither here [in England] nor in Holland whither Caron [the States' Ambassador] made a dispatch the same night."² The eyes of Holland and of the world were attracted by the incident to a growing Spanish confidence which they feared might result in another attempt of that country, to regain her lost territory and prestige.³

This European conviction was not lessened by the preparations then under way in Paris for the marriage of the French King's sister with the Prince of Spain, whose betrothal in 1612 was the occasion for so many French masques and fêtes.³ Coupled with this fact, the Spaniard's unwillingness to retract his demands of Twelfthnight, and to apologise for his behaviour, made the English and their allies suspicious lest the Spanish should "haue some great hopes at hand, or that they perfume as much of others weakness as of theyre owne strength."⁴

The retiring of the Ambassadors from Spain and Holland, left the Venetian alone in the place of honour, reserved for Ambassadors, during the performance of *Mercury Vindicated*.⁵ The Spanish Ambassador, before leaving, requested "that since his servants were not Ambassadors & would not strive for places they might be allowed Roome to see the Maske." This was of

¹ See Appendix 60.

² See Appendix 61 and 62.

³ Cf. *supra*, 67 f.

⁴ See Appendix 61.

⁵ "The Venetian Amb^r as soon as the Spanish was departed, was conducted by me into the second Roome from the privie gallerie, and

course granted. An Agent from Florence was present but was able only to occupy a form among the Lords.

The masque was so well liked that James arranged for a second production on Sunday following Twelfthnight. *Mercury Vindicated* itself does not elicit very favourable comment from Chamberlain though he was pleased with the dancing, an accomplishment in which we find the young Villiers so proficient on a later occasion, that he placates the King in a horrible outburst of rage and saves the masquers from disgrace.²

The King of England made good his position toward the Protestant alliance in his announcement on the following day that the Spanish pretensions at the masque of the previous night were unfounded. James declared that

the exception or Protestation he had made, could not be made any way good by him, the King of Spaines Agent, in regard the vafsalage which the King his Master pretended of the States was not properly his, but should belong (if to any) to the Arch-Dukes, to whom he had made a celsion

there attending till his Majesty & the Queene came, went along with them & was seated on the left hand of the King beneath the Queene, & the Prince on the right.

"The Agent of Florence . . . supped also in the Councill Chamber, & followed the King to the Maske with the Venetian, but having been ordained his seate in one of the galleries, he intreated me to move the Lord Chamberlaine, that (as he understood the Great Duke his Masters Agent, and the Duke of Savoyes had been) he might be placed among the Lords, which was asented to." John Finett, *Finetti's Philoxenis*.

¹ "the only matter I can aduertise fince I wrote the last weeke is the successe of the maske on twelwe night, w^{ch} was so well liked and applauded that the king had yt represented again the foday night after, in the very fame manner though neither in deuife nor shew was there anything extraordinarie but only excellent dauncing the choife being made of the best both English and Scottes." Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 January, 1614-15, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxx, No. 4.

² See *infra*, 116.

of those Provinces, & had likewise (he said) but a poore title to them, having at the time of the treaty of truce between them, agreed to treat with them, as with a free state, & given them since in severall letters the title and stile they pretend to (& which all other Princes & States, (he said) give (them) of Les Etats confederer de provinces vnies. This dispute, & difference occurred in the time that the truce between the King of Spaine, the Arch-Duke and the States yet lasted.¹

To celebrate her marriage, the French King's sister gave a masque in France which was reported to have been "a most brilliant function. It constituted practically a triumph upon her marriage, allusions being made to her journey in the music and ceremonies. All the ambassadors were invited,"² but it will be noted that the representatives of those countries which used every means to hinder the marriage³ were absent, while those who favoured the union, the Papal Nuncio, Spain and Venice, attended.⁴

It would seem that this French-Spanish alliance was a counter stroke of the Catholic powers for self-preservation, after the Protestant marriage alliance of England and the continental forces represented by the Count Palatine of the Rhine.⁴ During the formation of

¹ John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1.

² See Pietro Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Doge and Senate, 31 March [O. S. 21], 1615, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, 394-5, No. 723.

³ Note especially England, Savoy and the Dutch. See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, 484, 491, 546 *et passim*.

⁴ It seems hardly necessary to insert here that much of this so-called religious struggle here as elsewhere was political:

Cf. "One might thank God if it really were to the advantage of our holy religion and to bring these realms back to the true light, but the harm is that it is only to please the Spaniards, to stand well with them and help

this alliance, however, the Spanish Ambassador went to the trouble and expense of presenting some masques by Spaniards to the English Court² but for what purpose or how they were received, I am unable at present to discover.³

The following year, 1615-16, the French, Venetian, and Savoy Ambassadors were invited to be present at the first production of the masque, *The Golden Age Restored*, prepared by Ben Jonson for New Year's night.³ It will be remembered that on at least two occasions before, when the French Ambassador had been invited to a masque to be given before Twelfth-night, the masque of the latter feast was reserved for the Ambassador from Spain. Whether or not he had suspicion that the same trick might be played him again, at any rate, he succeeded in inducing the King to change his invitation to the second production of the same masque, to be given on Twelfthnight.³ The King complied with the request and all three Ambassadors were present at the Twelfthnight performance where they were given all honour.

I find no record of any Ambassadors present at the New Year's performance, though the sons of the Ambassadors of Venice and of Savoy were in attendance and sat on the "forms" of the Lords. On the occasion of Twelfthnight the son of the Spanish Ambassador and the Agent of the Arch-Duke (who invited himself) were seated on the "forms" and the sons of the Venetian and Savoy Ambassadors were forced to be

the marriage, and does not have religion as its principal object." Girolamo Lando, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 30 Dec. [O. S. 20], 1621, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvii, 190.

² See John Nichols, *Progresses*, iii, 41.

³ Cf. *infra*, 126-7.

³ See Appendix 63.

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content with places in the gallery with their countrymen.

But the years 1613 to 1616, while the marriage alliance between France and Spain was in process of preparation and completion, were singularly free from the violent clashes of the earlier and the later years of James. The one struggle over the rejection of the Arch-Duke's Ambassador caused serious comment.

CHAPTER IV

1616-1625—PRINCE CHARLES, CHIEF MASQUER, FINAL ALLIANCE OF JAMES WITH FRANCE

TWO such hereditary enemies as Spain and France could not remain long on friendly terms. Prince Charles, afterward Charles I, was "created" Prince of Wales in November, 1616, but all members of the diplomatic corps were excluded from the ceremonies of the "creation" because of a quarrel between the French and Spanish Ambassadors. The trouble still continued at the time of the Christmas festivities, 1616-17, when the Spanish Ambassador reported to the Duke of Lerma that, "the King had determined not to invite to a masquerade at the palace any ambassador owing to the entreaties of the French ambassador to be invited."¹ The masque to which he refers, Ben Jonson's *Vision of Delight*, presented on Twelfthnight, 1617, is not wholly without interest, however, especially to students of American history.

For some time prior to 1616, England had been interested in her American ventures.² In 1616, Sarmiento, the Spanish Ambassador in England, brought

¹ See Dⁿ Diego Sarmiento to his Excellency the Duke of Lerma, Jan. 11, 1616, in *Arch. de Simancas*, E. L., 2595, fol. 20 (cipher), as found in *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, xxxvii. Cf. also Appendix 64.

² In 1609 we find Prince Henry presenting a "baſon and yore of redde copper" to "som of Virginia," and again in 1612 the Prince paid 100£ put for him "into the lotterie for Virginia." Cf. Appendix 65.

suit in Chancery against Sir Richard Bingley for piracy against two Spanish ships which, according to Sarmiento's claim, were filled with a valuable cargo of hides, tallow, tobacco, redwood, &c., from America. But more than in their trade, English nobles saw in American possessions an opportunity to repair all their depleted fortunes through the fabulous gold mines reported to have been found across the Atlantic.¹ Raleigh's publications had done much to arouse world-wide imagination and credulity. English literature of the time abounds with references to America and its inhabitants. Shakespeare in *The Tempest*, II, ii, makes Trinculo voice the popular curiosity when he says, "when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." The masques give frequent evidence of the interest in America through the presence of Indian characters as masquers, and the continued association of great mines of gold with the American colonies. In 1613, foreign Ambassadors report the excitement in England over the capture of Pocahontas. She was to them a daughter of a King in a country of fabulous wealth² and her retention by the English soldiers meant success to the English arms.³

So when Pocahontas was brought to London, it is not strange that James invited her with her "afsistant" to the Court, and gave her a prominent place,³ such

¹ Cf., "The Spanish Ambassador went recently to the royal council to ask that Sir Walter Raleigh should not be allowed to go to the Indies. He is to leave in two months with eight ships full of nobles, all well appointed, to acquire mines." Giovanni Battista Lionello, to the Doge and Senate, 10 February, 1617, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiv, No. 631. Cf. Appendix 66.

² See Appendix 67.

³ "The Virginian woman Pocahontas wth her father Counfaillor haue ben wth the King and graciously vied, and both she and her

as he was accustomed to give to representatives of other Kings and Queens among the Twelfthnight audience who gathered to hear King James's praises sung: in Ben Jonson's *Vision of Delight*, on January 6, 1617. We may well be curious as to the feelings of the Indian maiden, transplanted from the wigwam to the most elaborate species of entertainment of the most magnificent court of Europe, but the correspondence of the time, so far found, gives us no clue as to the thoughts in the mind of Pocahontas concerning the audience who listened to *The Vision of Delight*, nor of their attitude toward her.

Besides the presence of Pocahontas at the presentation of *The Vision of Delight*, one other event caused comment. The favourite, who had climbed since last we saw him from being merely young Villiers to the rank of Earl of Buckingham, had the honour of dancing with the Queen, when the masquers, according to the usual custom, took out the ladies for the dance, near the close of the masque. John Chamberlain, writing of the entertainment, says:

I forgot in my last to geue notice that there was a meaning before the end of Christmas to make the L. villers an Earle (though I knew not of what place) w^{ch} fell out the next day to be performed wth all vfuall folemnitie and he bears the name of Buckingham, on twelfe night was a mafke wherin

a[s]istant well placed at the mafke, she is vpon her return (though fore againft her will) yf the wind wold come about to fend them away." Chamberlain to Carleton, 18 January, 1616-17, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xc, No. 25.

1 "Phan.

Behold a king
Whose presence maketh this perpetual spring;
The glories of which spring grow in that bower,
And are the marks and beauties of his power."

—Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 119.

the new made Earle and the Earle of mongomerie daunced wth the Queene. I haue heard no great speach nor commendations of the maske neither before nor since, but yt is apointed to be reprinted again to morrow night, and the Spanish Ambaffador invited.¹

The second masque of the season, 1616-17, was given by the Middle Templers on the seventeenth of January, 1616-17, in honour of the new-created Earl of Buckingham. The favourite was advancing to power with such leaps and bounds that the winning of his influence was worth serious effort. Chamberlain suggests the purpose of the Middle-Templers' masque in Buckingham's honour, when he says: "yesternight the Middle-Templers entertained the Earle of Buckingham wth a supper and a maske, whether yt be that he was of theyre societie or that they wold preoccupate his favour."²

On the twenty-second of February, 1616-17, Ben Jonson's *Lovers Made Men* was presented in honour of the Ambassador, Baron de la Tour.

European politics had been so readjusting themselves that the smouldering flames of the Thirty Years' War were about to break out. Historians have used all effort to lay bare the attitude of England toward the struggle and to account for James's sacrifice of his son-in-law in favour of his attachment to Spain, but with only varying success. For our purposes, we can only note here that such was his attitude.

In the ceremonies surrounding the Twelfthnight masque of 1616-17, there is no open avowal as to James's policy, and yet a careful reader of conditions must have realised that indications boded no good for the Protes-

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, 18 January, 1616-17, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxx, No. 25.

²*Ibid.*

tant cause. Spain's feelings were salved not only by the reproduction on January 19, 1616-17 of *The Vision of Delight*, to which the Spanish Ambassador was invited, but by a promise given to Sarmiento by the King, that on Twelfthnight of the coming year, 1617-18, the new Prince of Wales would give his first masque to which Sarmiento would be invited.¹

Ben Jonson was early set to work on *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* for Twelfthnight, 1617-18, and the coming masque was the talk of the hour. This was to be the first great Court masque given by a member of the Royal family since the long-delayed masque of Queen Anne which awaited de Laverdin's coming in 1611. In addition to the significance attached to the presentation of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, because of the princely rank of its chief masquer, Prince Charles's first masque grew in importance because it began to be understood about the Court, that the English-Spanish marriage alliance was close to fulfilment and the masque was looked upon as a confirmation and announcement of the coming union.²

To make the entertainment of sufficient grandeur to fit such an occasion, James, although almost destitute of money, set aside for his son's first masque, four thousand pounds from a promised fifty thousand which had just been wrung with great difficulty from the merchants,³ and in addition to Ben Jonson, the best

¹ See Appendix 70.

² See Appendix 69 and 70. Cf. also, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 107.

³ "The Qu: hath caused y^e La: maske to be put of w^{ch} my L^d Hay should haue made at y^e robes last night. The other w^{ch} y^e:Prince is to make in the banqueting house on 12th night, and wherein himself is to be an actor, is likely to hold.

Your L^p heard before this time y^t y^e marchands of middleb. & y^e

artists and artificers of every description were employed to make the masquing evening a success. For at least fifty days before Twelfthnight¹ messengers were hurrying hither and thither gathering members of the nobility together for the rehearsals, arranging elaborate quarters for the performers and citing, at the Prince's command, poets, painters, musicians, actors, etc., including Shakespeare's company and others to the Prince's Household.²

When 1617-18 arrived, a *Masque of Amazons* prepared for the first of January was, for some unknown reason, distasteful to the King and Queen who "fayd as yf they wold haue hadd no courte but there owne fo near them or some such like."³ Though all the expense was incurred by Lady Hay and her friends who were to present the masque at the home of the former, the royal sanction being withheld, no performance was given. Early in 1618, however, the Gentlemen gave two productions of a masque representing the marriage of the son of a farmer, the first at "Enfelde" where "S^r George Goringe vpon fenting a farmer's sonne & apparrell thereafter the rest, weare come to daunce at his weddinge wth many pleafant speches, & much

East Indies haue undertaken to furnish y^e excheque^r with 50000£, of w^{ch} hif ma^{tie} hath bin pleased to affigne for Ireland 12000£, for y^e arrerages of y^e artillerie 8000£, for Marquis Hammelton 8000£, for my L^d D'Aubigni 4000£, for my L^d Hey 3000£, for my L^d Haddingto 2000£ and 4000£ for y^e Princes make. al which he wil most gratioufly pforme if there be not to much difficulty found in y^e collecting of it.
London, Jan. 1st, 1617.

"Your L^{ps} most devoted to do you service
"NATHANAEL BRENT."

In *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 3.

¹ See *infra*, 148^a.

² See *infra*, 180-1.

³ See Chamberlain to Carleton, 3 January, 1617-[8], in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 5.

mirth dree the ende. Which the kinge hearinge, desired to see them performe the same at Tibbalds the night ere he pted, w^{ch} he did and was much contented & very merry therewth.”¹

But of course the big event over which every tongue was loosed, and the one to which diplomatic importance was attached, was the presentation of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, the first masque of the future King Charles I. This, with its implied confirmation of England's choice of a future Queen, gave opportunity for perhaps the most unusual and elaborate single masque of James's reign.

When the French were finally assured of the Spanish invitation, they felt that the publication of so overwhelming a defeat could not be accepted without the most serious protest. The French Ambassador, therefore, after failing to influence King James through other means, repaired to the Court, without regard to the seasonableness of his visit and impatiently demanding access to his Majesty, forced his way into the private apartments, where he “expostulated very roundly” against the wrong done his master in his Ambassador's person.² Being unable to bring about a change in James's plans, he despatched his secretary post-haste into France for immediate instructions concerning his further procedure. In the meantime, however, the illness of Gondomar, as the masquing evening approached, threatened to force the English to extend an invitation to de Marêts because of the Spaniard's absence. But things had reached such a pass that “the King had a bed and room prepared for Gondomar,” in case he should succumb physically

¹ Gerrard Herbert to Carleton, 12 Jan., 1618, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 14.

² See Appendix 70.

during the evening and James "had a chair placed for him on his right and by his side."¹ From this place of honour the representative of the House of Austria gave his share of applause to the "dance of the bottles" and saw the undignified behaviour of the King to whose policies Spain was supposed to be committing herself.²

When the French secretary returned, he brought with him evidence of the French King's displeasure in the form of his Ambassador's recall from the Court of England with a cessation of diplomatic relations between the two countries.³ De Mârets still stayed on in

¹ "He says that he went on the day of the Epiphany to an entertainment given by the Prince at the Palace. He did not send an excuse although he was so ill, for the French Ambassador wishes to be present alone, and on seeing the preference with which Gondomar was treated, he said he meant to return to France.

"The King had a bed and room prepared for Gondomar in case he was taken ill.

"The King had a chair placed for him on his right, and by his side." In *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, 39, from *Arch. del marques de Iñigo*, copy of a letter from Count Gondomar to Cardinal Borja y Velasco, London, 19 January, 1618.

² See Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii., *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, also *infra*, 116.

³ "He says that on the previous day the 4th of February, the secretary of the french ambassador had returned from Paris, who had been sent to say that James had allowed Gondomar to have the precedence at the Palace. The secretary brought orders for the ambassador to leave England immediately & he gave James a letter written in the same sent by the King.

"The french ambassador [De Mârets] is very ill, and will be much annoyed at leaving for he had brought his family with him, and had arranged his house and gardens, hoping to stay here several years. They are preparing everything in his house for his departure.

"The ashes with which Gondomar had loaded the French in the present instance would give a very good result.

"Secretary Lake went to visit Des Mârets in the King's name without urging him to remain; he found him ill in bed furious against England & King James & saying that every Englishman was a subject and pensioner of the King of Spain." Count of Gondomar to Philip III., London,

London under pretence of his wife's illness for three weeks after his recall had arrived, until finally James, impatient to be rid of him, sent word that the gifts, always presented to an ambassador upon his departure, were ready for him. De Mârets failed to present himself immediately for the gifts and the King sent them to him. The Frenchman, whether under excitement of the moment or in fear lest they should be denied him later, accepted the gifts and according to custom so terminated his office and deprived himself of the right to the final audience in which all ambassadors took formal leave of the King.¹ De Mârets demanded the

5 February, 1618. *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, 39, *Arch. de Sim. E. L.*, 2597, p. 48, (in cipher).

¹ "He says afterwards that a courier had just arrived from Paris with news that war was to be declared against England, because Gondomar had been preferred in a quarrel with the French Ambassador, upon occupying the first place in an entertainment given at the Palace." Julian Sancher de Wtton, secretary of the Count of Gondomar, to Juan de Cevira, London, 2 February, 1618. *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, Vol. 39, from *Arch. de Sim., E. L.*, 2597, p. 34, (in cipher).

"He says that he had heard that in France they already regretted the haste with which they had proceeded by wishing to recall their ambassador from London on account of the affair of the precedence with Gondomar.

"Des Mârets has been written to, and told to put back his journey, and endeavour to arrange the affair that there should be no actual rupture, & Des Mârets was working in this sense, visiting the different persons at Court although constantly protesting that he was in his right in not giving way to the Spanish Ambassador, and went as far as to say that the King of England had negotiated in France, for Sarmiento not to leave England.

"When James heard this, he sent him word on Friday the 16th inst. by the keeper of the jewels, that he had his present ready, as was the custom to give the ambassadors of leave taking & hopes Des Mârets will appoint a day to receive it. Des Mârets was much confused at this message & begged it to be kept until he said when he was leaving for his intention was to visit the King. Des Mârets went immediately to look for the Duke of Lennox, & the Marquis of Hamilton that they

audience however, and James at length appointed one for the twenty-sixth of March at nine o'clock at night. When the French Ambassador appeared at the appointed time, he was kept waiting until twelve o'clock and then, instead of the customary formal ceremony, he was ushered into the King's bed-chamber where, if we believe the Spanish Ambassador, James, who was lying in bed, received him with these words: "at last Monsieur the ambassador, you are going. May God accompany you."¹ This closed the incident which interrupted diplomatic relations between France and England for almost a year and a half² to the serious embarrassment of both nations,³ to the great detriment

might interfere in the affair & give their opinion of this, but neither of these gentlemen would receive him, and the next day the Keeper of the Jewels went himself to his house with the present, which consisted in 2000 ounces of weight of silver gilt work of different kinds.

"The ambassador received the present without giving anything to the Bearer, and was very much annoyed & thinks of leaving immediately.— It is doubtful whether he will take leave of the King for once having admitted this present he cannot be received as an ambassador. Gondomar has been told that he will leave without taking leave of him. Signed El Conde de Gondomar." Original letter from du Conde de Gondomar to Philip the 3d, London, 21 March, 1618. *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, 39 in *Arch. de Simancos E. L.*, 2597, p. 54.

¹ "He says the french ambassador, Des Mârets had taken leave and would return to France leaving his secretary as chargé d'affaires.

"After having received the usual present which is given to the ambassadors, he solicited an audience from the King, who appointed this day at 9 oC^t at night, and from that hour kept him waiting until 12 oC^t; in which he received him, dressed, and lying on the bed, and said on seeing him come into the room 'at last Monsieur the ambassador, you are going, may God Accompany you.' The ambassador then presented his secretary to him, who remains behind as agent." Conde de Gondomar to Philip the 3d, London, 26 March, 1618. In *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, Vol. 39, from *Arch. de Sim., E. L.*, 2597, p. 60, (cipher).

² See Appendix 72.

³ Cf. Appendix 71. Cf. also *Calendar of State Papers Domestic James I*, xv, 442, No. 706.

of English and French commerce, and to accompanying interests usually attendant upon pacific relations between countries.

The masque itself, prepared with extraordinary pains for the "king's own son and heir, the Prince of Wales, then seventeen years old, an agile youth, handsome and very graceful," is described in considerable detail by the Italian, Busino. He says that at the "fourth hour of the night," he and the Venetian Ambassador went privately through the park to the Court. When they reached the royal apartments, the Venetian Ambassador was taken in custody during the two hours in which James was preparing for the masque, by one of the great nobles. Busino in the meantime was properly perfumed and otherwise prepared for admission among the King's guests and then taken to the box, in the masquing hall, prepared for the Venetian embassy. Busino complains that this box was too small for comfort and the discomfort was increased by a Spaniard, who begged admission, asking for but two fingers' breadth of room and then to the disgust of the Venetians making himself more comfortable than the Italians were. But the Venetians were not fond of the Spaniards and were, moreover, a bit jealous of Spain to whose entertainment this particular Twelfthnight had been dedicated. Busino remarks that the Spaniards were scattered about in all the principal places. The Spanish Ambassador had the seat of honour near James, other Spaniards, wearing evidences of especial favouritism from the King in the gold chains around their necks,¹ sat among the Lords of the Council, others were in the

¹ See exchequer accounts for gifts of chains, given by James to ambassadors and their servants.

box especially prepared for the Spanish embassy, where they were caring for the entertainment of the Spanish Ambassador's wife, and still others, like the man of whom Busino complained, were squeezed into other places.

During the long wait for the King, Busino says he examined the hall, crowded with its six hundred guests. The ladies' dresses, he remarks, were of such variety in cut and colour as to be indescribable. He especially notes "the most delicate plumes over their heads, springing from their foreheads or in their hands serving as fans" and the "strings of jewels on their necks and bosoms and in their girdles and apparel in such quantity that they looked like so many queens, so that at the beginning with but little light, such as that of the dawn or of the evening twilight, the splendour of their diamonds and other jewels was so brilliant that they looked like so many stars." Busino regrets that his short-sightedness prevented his seeing the ladies whose sweet and handsome faces caused his companions to keep exclaiming, "Oh do look at this one! Oh see her! Whose wife is that one on the row and that pretty one near, whose daughter is she?" He reports, however, that there were shrivelled women among them and "some very devoted to St. Charles," though the beauties outnumbered them. Their dress, he says, "is very handsome for those who like it, and profits some of them as a blind to nature's defects, for behind it hangs well-nigh from the neck down to the ground with long close sleeves, without any waist and in folds so that any hump however monstrous, remains hidden." Then the farthingale, moreover, plays its part. The plump and buxom display their bosoms indeed very liberally and those who are lean go muffled up to the

throat, all with their man's shoes or at least with very low slippers. The masque they deem as indispensable for the face as bread at table, but they lay it aside willingly at these public entertainments."

As James entered the hall with the Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors,

"the cornets and trumpets in number fifteen or twenty commenced playing very well a sort of recitative, and then his Majesty having seated himself under the dais alone (the Queen not being present on account of a slight indisposition) caused the ambassadors to sit under it likewise upon two stools and outside the great officers of the crown and of the courts of law, sat upon benches. The Lord Chamberlain then immediately had the way cleared and in the middle of the theatre there appeared a fine and spacious area carpeted all over with green cloth, and in an instant, a large curtain dropped, painted to represent a tent of gold cloth with broad fringe and the back ground was of blue calicoe powdered all over with gold stars: this became the front arch of the stage, forming a drop scene, and on its being removed there appeared first of all Mount Atlas whose enormous head was alone visible up aloft under the very roof of the theatre, and it rolled its eyes, and moved itself very cleverly. Then as a foil to the principal ballet and masquerade they had some mummeries performed in the first act: for instance a very chubby Bacchus appeared on a car drawn by four gowmsmen who sang in an undertone before his majesty: and there was another on foot, also in good case and dressed in red, in short clothes, who made a speech reeling about like a drunkard, tankard in hand, so that he resembled said Bacchus's cup bearer, and this first scene was very gay and burlesque. Next followed twelve extravagant masquers, one of whom was in a barrel all but his extremities, his companions being in like manner cased in huge wicker flasks, very well made and they danced

awhile to the sound of the cornets and trumpets, performing various & most extravagant antics. These were followed by a gigantic man representing Hercules with his club, and who strove with Antheus and performed other feats; then came twelve masked boys in the guise of so many frogs, and they in like manner danced together assuming sundry grotesque attitudes, and then having all suddenly fallen down, they were driven off by said Hercules more than in haste. Mount Atlas then opened by means of two doors which were made to turn, and from behind the hills of a distant landscape the day was seen to dawn, some gilt columns being placed along either side of the scene so as to aid the perspective and render the distance greater. Mercury next appeared before the King, and made a speech; and after him came a guitar player in a gown who sang some shakes accompanying himself with his instrument, announcing himself as some Diety, and then a number of singers dressed in long red gowns to represent high priests came on the stage wearing gilt mitres and in the midst of them was a goddess in a long white robe and they sang some 'jigs' which we did not understand, true is it however that spoilt as we are by the graceful and harmonious music of Italy the composition did not strike us as very fine.

" Finally twelve cavaliers masked, made their appearance dressed uniformly, six having the entire hose crimson with plaited doublets of white satin trimmed with gold and silver lace; and the other six wore breeches down to the knee, with the half hose also crimson, and white shoes and the corsets matched well and were cut in the shape of ancient Roman corslets, and on their heads they wore long hair and crowns, and very tall white plumes, their faces being covered with black masks. These twelve descended all together from above the scene in the figure of a pyramid, of which the Prince alone ever formed the apex; and on their reaching the ground, the violins, in number certainly more than twenty-five or thirty, and all in one box commenced playing their airs. After having made their

obeisance to his majesty, they commenced dancing in very good time, preserving for a while the same pyramidical figure, and with a variety of steps after which they changed places with each other in various ways always ending the jump together. This being at an end, each took his lady; the Prince pairing with the principal one amongst those who were ranged in a row, ready to dance, and the others doing the like in succession, all making the obeisance scrupulously first to his majesty and then to each other with infallible respect. They performed every sort of Ballet & Dance as customary in any country soever, such as passamezzi, corents, canaries see Spaniards and a hundred other very fine gestures devised for pinching [tickling] the fancy. Last of all they danced the Spanish dance, one at a time, each with his Lady, and being well nigh tired they began to lag, whereupon the King, who is naturally choleric got impatient and shouted aloud: 'Why don't they dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all, dance' upon this the Marquis of Buckingham, his Majesty's most favored minion immediately sprang forward cutting a score of lofty and very minute capers, with so much grace and agility that he not only appeased the ire of his angry Lord, but moreover rendered himself the admiration and delight of every body.¹ The other masquers thus encouraged continued exhibiting their prowess one after the other with various Ladies likewise finishing with capers, and lifting their goddefses from the ground: we counted thirty four capers as cut by one cavalier in succession, but none came up to the exquisite manner of the Marquis. The Prince nevertheless excelled them all in bowing, being very formal

¹ "The new favourite being an excellent dancer brought that pastime into the greatest request. . . . He now reigns sole monarch in the King's affection; every thing he doth is admired for the doer's sake. No man dances better, no man runs or jumps better; and indeed he jumps higher than ever Englishman did in so short a time—from a private gentleman to a Dukedom." Bennett, quoted in *Venebian Transcripts*, cxliv, 190 note. For life of Villiers, see Sir Henry Wotton, *Short view of the life and death of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham*.



**The Marquis of Buckingham, favourite and chief adviser to James I.,
also a prominent masquer.**

in making his obeisance, both to the Majesty of his Father, and to the Lady with whom he danced, nor was he ever once seen to do a step out of time when dancing, whereas one can not perhaps say as much for the others. Owing to his youth, he has not yet much breath notwithstanding which he cut a few capers very graciously. The encounter of these twelve accomplished Cavaliers being ended, and having valiantly overcome the sloth and debauchery of Bacchus, the Prince went in triumph to kiss the hands of his most serene Father, who embraced and kissed him tenderly, and then honoured the Marquis with marks of extraordinary affection, patting his face. The King now rose from his chair, took the Ambassadors along with him, and passing thro' a quantity of chambers and galleries reached a hall where the usual collation was prepared for the performers, a light being carried before him, and having given a glance all round the table he departed and forthwith the parties concerned pounced upon the prey like so many harpies. The table was covered almost entirely with *conditti* pasties seasoned and very few sugar confections; there were some large figures, but they were of painted pasteboard for ornament. The repast was served on certain glass plates or dishes and on the first assault they upset the table, and the crash of the glass platters reminded me precisely of a severe hail storm at midsummer smashing the window glass. The story ended at half past two in the morning, and half disgusted and weary were turned home.

"Should your most illustrious Lordships writhe on reading or listening to this tediousness you may assuredly believe that I also experience nausea in representing it tho' at the same time I would suggest that should you not like to receive it as a savoury *Potrida* you may at least be pleased to admit it as insipid pottage so that it may get to table. And in conclusion I pay my most humble respects to you. From London the 24th of January (N. S.) 1618."¹

¹ *Venetian Transcripts*, cxlii, 68. Cf. also Nichols, *Progresses* II, 708, and *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 110-4.

Notwithstanding all the elaborate preparations for *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, the production brought the two chief artists, Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, little but censure. Sir Edward Harwood writing of it, says:

the last night beinge twelfthnight was the masque, the antimasque beinge of little boyes dressed like bottells and a man in a tonne w^{ch} the bottells drew out and tost too and fro, not ill liked the conceite good the poetry not fo. The Ambassadors of Spayne and the Venetian was at it: the frenche not.¹

W. Sherburne remarks more critically:

The maske w^{ch} was had on Twelwthnight wherein the Prince was one, y^r L: will perceiv the conceipt by perusing this little book. I must tell yo' L: it came far short of the expectacōn & M^r Inigo Jones hath lost in his reputacōn in regard some extraordinary devise was looked for (it being the Prince his first mask) and a poorer was never sene.²

and Nathanael Brent assures us that he voices the popular condemnation of Ben Jonson of whom "diuers thinke fit he should returne to his ould trade of bricke laying againe."³

Queen Anne, who had been too ill to see her son's first masque, requested that *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* be repeated,⁴ therefore "the Princes maske was

¹ S^r Ed. Harwood to S^r Dudley Carleton, 7 January, 1617-18, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 8. Cf. also, Ben Jonson, *Works*.

² W. Sherburne from "York house this 10th Jann 1617-[18]," in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 10.

³ Nathanael Brent to Carleton, 10 [N. S. 20], January, 1617-[18], in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 12. See also *ibid.*, No. 11.

⁴ See Gerrard Herbert to Carleton, 12 January, 1618, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 14.

showed againe at Court on Tuedday night”¹; preceding February 21. Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones had set to work to redeem themselves from the disgrace which they had incurred. So, “by reason of the neue conceites & antemaskes & pleafant merry speeches made to the Kinge by such as counterfeyted Welshmen & wisht the Kinge’s comynge into Wales,”² they succeeded in bringing applause from the audience and making the masque much better liked than the performance on Twelfthnight.³ But even here they paid more dear for their success than they had reckoned; they brought down upon their heads severe criticism that they should have had to make a “Welshman cholericque” in order to make an “Englshman laugh.”⁴

The following year, 1618–19, the question of invitation to the Twelfthnight masque was easy of solution. No French Ambassador was in residence, because of the dispute concerning the masque the year before, and Gondomar was for a time in Spain.⁵ Shortly before Twelfthnight, the Banquetting Hall was burned down through “some of the oily clothes of the devices of the mask,” which had been stored there, catching fire.⁶

¹ See Nathanael Brent to Carleton, 21 February, 1617–[18], in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 24.

² See Gerrard Herbert to Carleton, 22 February, 1618, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 27.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Nathanael Brent to Carleton, 21 February, 1617–[18] in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xcvi, No. 24.

⁵ “In my time the French Ambassador left the court because he was not invited to a masque attended by the Spanish Ambassador, so at present they have no ambassadors on either side,” in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 422. See also John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*; Lord Chamberlain’s Office, *Class Miscellaneous*, 5, No. 1, p. 69. Cf. also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 460.

⁶ See Gerrard Herbert to Dr. Ward, 21 January, 1619, in Goodman, *Court of James I*, 187–8.

Cf. also Chamberlain to Carleton, 16 January, 1618–19, in *State Papers*

These three circumstances combined, gave James opportunity for declaring, that by refusing to all ambassadors the privilege of sitting under the "state" with him, he would henceforth lessen to some degree the quarrel over precedence. The King for

"this purpose gave order for a box, or Seate to be made apart (with Stooles, cushions, and leaning carpets to be bestowed in it) on his Majesties right but somewhat obliquely forward, and therein were placed (without exceptions from any of them) the new come Venetian Ambf Donati, and foure commifsioners sent hither from the States of the United Provinces. The Prince Palatine's Ambafador (the Baron of Donowe, at that time likewise imploied hither) was seated as a Domestique (but not without consideration of avoyding question) uppermost above all the Lords on the foarme usually placed for them."¹

The new-come Venetian Ambassador Donato reports the production of the masque and his own unsuccessful attempt to utilize his invitation for diplomatic gains, in the following terms:

Yesterday evening the king had me invited to a masque, which was conducted by the prince in the most charming manner, superbly mounted and proved a great success. I was given a seat above the States and the Palatine Ambassador, who claimed precedence over them and was given a place among the King's servants without any further declaration being made, though the case is clear with a prince who is the first elector. After a dance, at

Domestic James I, cv, No. 41, also, a letter from Herbert in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cv, No. 60.

¹ John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class 5*, No. 1, p. 69.

Cf. also Chamberlain to Carleton, 9 Jan., 1618-19, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cv, No. 7.

which all the nobility of the realm and the cream of the royal Court were present, a veritable image of ease, pomp, superfluity and comfort, we were conducted to a collation. There the king told me that he rejoiced that your serenity was to have peace since the dash of the Bohemians in their determination to achieve great things would call off the Spaniards to those parts. I told him that these hopes did not quiet our anxieties, as they showed their spirit by their injuries and insidious hostilities, and then there were suspicions of the numerous and powerful fleet they were collecting. These ships could not be intended to serve against Bohemia. But his Majesty, instead of taking up the discussion as I had hoped, remarked that the prince, his son, had danced well and that all the young men here had comported themselves entirely to his satisfaction, on which account he rejoiced and received congratulations on every hand. Seeing that the moment was inopportune I said to him, Sire, either I will follow your Majesty to your hunting or before you leave I must speak to you about the great disturbances in the world. He said: Yes, I will see you when I have more leisure, but I assure you that Bohemia will be your peace.¹

Though James was criticised for risking the destruction of another building, he nevertheless ordered a reproduction of the Twelfthnight masque for "fthrovetide in the hall."²

On the twelfth of March, 1619, Queen Anne, who had been a prominent figure in many of the early Court masques, died at the age of forty-four.³ She was estranged from her husband, who was present neither at her death-bed nor at her funeral. She was scarcely

¹ Antonio Donato to the Doge and Senate, 17 [O. S. 7], January, 161[8-]19, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 432.

² Chamberlain to Carleton, 23 December, 1618, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cv, No. 65.

³ See Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, ii, 145, *et passim*.

cold in her grave before efforts were made to complicate the matter of marriage alliances by proposals for the hand of James. However, there is no assurance that the King ever gave any encouragement to such suggestions. The death of Queen Anne gave the French King opportunity for sending an Ambassador Extraordinary to offer condolence—an opportunity which both Kings, in the uncertainty of European diplomatic relations, and the unsettled state of the Bohemian situation, were glad to seize upon. Naturally, the literature of the time reflects these uncertainties and we hear of them especially in the controversies over the “play of Barnevelt” in August¹ and in the proclamations and discussions concerning the freedom of speech in the years immediately following.²

During the Christmas season, 1619–20, following the death of Queen Anne, the Court was occupied with “little . . . besides playes and reuels,”³ two masques made for the Prince at Whitehall being especially charged to the King’s account, one at Christmas 1619–20 and one at Shrovetide, 1620.⁴

The serious complications which arose out of the presentation of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* made all countries more sensitive over questions concerning masques. Lando, the new-come Venetian Ambassador, reported to the Doge and Senate that he had fair reason to hope that no difficulty would arise at the first of the Prince’s masques which he announced was scheduled to take place in “seven or eight days,” (his letter being dated 2 January, 1620, N. S.). “But,” he added, “one may reasonably fear trouble at the

¹ See Appendix 73.

² See *infra*, 126 also 162 note.

³ See *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxii, No. 1.

⁴ See *Audit Office, Treasurer of the Chamber, Bundle 391 R 58*.

other masques which will take place toward the end of the carnival." So he asked for instructions as to his behaviour should the Ambassador from the Palatine, failing to be entertained as a member of the King's household, raise any pretension concerning his precedence as ambassador from King James's son-in-law.¹

There was of course no trouble at a big masque given by the Marquis of Buckingham and many gentlemen in the house of the French Ambassador on the night of January third. Lando's nervousness concerning Prince Charles's Twelfthnight masque was quieted on Tuesday morning, January fourth, by invitations in the King's name, selecting the Ambassadors of France, Savoy and Venice for the guests of honour for Thursday evening. Immediately he set to work to use the occasion for advancing Venetian interests, all the more because, to his chagrin, the masque delayed the important business of state, in hand.² Lando reports his success in this venture to the Republic and adds finally:

This night the prince's masque took place in which he and ten other cavaliers made a brave show. Among them Buckingham was first, and apparently he is as great a favourite with the prince as with his father. The ceremony lasted more than three hours, attended by an extraordinary number of ladies very richly dressed and laden with jewels. His Majesty took part with much gaiety and greatly enjoyed the agility and dancing of his son and of the marquis, who contended against each other for the favour and applause of the king and to give him pleasure. I, as representing your Serenity, and the Ambassadors of France and Savoy were honoured and entertained in a seemly manner. We were all placed on a stage to see the

¹ See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 102-3.

² *Ibid.*, xvi, 134.

dancing and afterwards following the king, we went to see the supper in the usual way. At the masque, his Majesty sat under his usual large canopy, surrounded by numerous lords. Near him stood the former Archbishop of Spalato, who daily advances in esteem and favour by the publication of books greatly to the King's taste and in other ways.¹

On January 30 [O. S. 20], Lando reports that the continued dancing of the Prince on so many masquing occasions brought on illness and "caused a commotion through the whole Court."² In his letter on the following day, however, Lando makes mention of another masque given by Viscount Doncaster in honour of James and his son—but does not give its date.³ It would seem to have occurred before the illness referred to. At any rate, though the nobles humbly prescribed caution, the indisposition of Charles did not hinder the Prince from reproducing his masque at Shrovetide as originally planned. The Venetian fears concerning their inability to capture the honours of this last occasion were well founded. The Bohemian Ambassador Dohna and Caron the Ambassador from the States alone received invitation. The title, author and text of these masques are still unknown. Jonson was in Scotland, and his friend Drummond writes:

"I have heard from Court that the late Mask was not so approved of the King as in former times and that your absence was regretted."⁴ Following these

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 138.

² See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 151. ³ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴ Ben Jonson, *Works* (1871) iii., 134. Cf. also Jonson, *Works*, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*: iii., 136. "Print. Because one of our greatest poets (I know not how good a one) went to Edinburgh on foot, and came back; marry, he has been restive, they say, ever since; for we have had nothing from him: he has set out nothing I am sure."

Court Masques there was a running masque "all over the country"¹ for the diversion of King and nobility, and one at Salisbury, but no mention of purpose or occasion other than mere matter of entertainment. Though no French Ambassador was yet in permanent residence in the English Court, it was a representative of the French King for whom much of the entertainment was given² and "the loadstone of all this domestichezza is a kinswoman of the [French] ambassador's or his wife's, a dainty young demoiselle, and in the judgment of other choice dames a fine piece for a French woman."³ Other signs of the times were evident in the fact that "the French familiarity grows more in request."

The following holiday season, 1620-21, Gondomar was in Spain, the French Ambassador Ordinary, Tillieurs, had been properly installed and the French King, being near Calais, took occasion to send an Ambassador Extraordinary, Marquis de Cadenet, to greet King James.⁴ Although the English King was so hard pressed for money that the City of London had been forced to sell some of its plate to supply him,⁵ the presence of the two Frenchmen furnished occasion for ignoring the criticism of extravagance against King James and for presenting Ben Jonson's *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* for a proper entertainment of the French Ambassadors alone.

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 Feb. 1619-[20] in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxii, No. 82.

² See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 533.

³ Chamberlain to Carleton, 1 January, 1619-[20], in Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James I* (1849), ii, 196. Cf. also Appendix 74.

⁴ See John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis* (1656), 67.

⁵ See Chamberlain to Carleton, 22 Dec., 1620-21, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxviii, No. 39.

The honour of the occasion was enhanced by an order admitting to the masque no guest "vnder the degree of a Baron."¹ But again Ben Jonson erred in his desire to please, and brought further criticism upon himself. Irish and Welsh had been unwisely exploited to satisfy the popular fancy and now, even in the presence of the two French Ambassadors, "there was a puritan brought in to be flowted and abused, wch was fomwhat vnfeemly and vnseasonable, specially as matters stand now wth thofe of the religion in fraunce."²

But Ben Jonson was not alone in bringing criticism upon his literary productions. In August, about the time that the favourite was presenting Ben Jonson's *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies* for King James's diversion, "a new proclamation against lauish and licentious talking in matters of State either at home or abrode"³ was issued and there was much comment and much confusion among the "common people" who "know not how to vnderstand nor how far matters of state may stretch or extend; for they continue to take no notice of yt, but print euery week (at least) corontas wth all manner of newes, and as strange stuffe as any we haue from Amsterdam."³

In the meantime, Gondomar had returned from Spain and set himself to the task of influencing James for diplomatic ends. The Venetian Ambassador reports that though the

French Ambassador Extraordinary here has alone absorbed all the honours which the other ambassadors of princes

¹ See *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxix, No. 9.

² Chamberlain to Carleton, 23 January, 1620-21, in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic James I*, cix, No. 24.

³ See Chamberlain to Carleton, 4 August, 1622, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxii, No. 60, also, *ibid.*, cxxii, No. 58. Cf. also *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxxviii, No. 59, and *ibid.*, cxl, No. 13.

usually enjoy in the course of the year . . . the Spaniard has what is more solid and important, being more influential than ever over his Majesty or over those who guide him, making use for his own advantage of festivities, masques and all distractions from business, to which he has devoted himself incessantly these last days, as the older his Majesty grows the more he takes pleasure in what he did not care for when young.¹

News from the New World Discovered in the Moon was repeated on Shrove Sunday, February 11, 1621, when it was whispered about the Court, that the Spanish Ambassador, for whose entertainment it was apparently intended, would refuse to be present. But the Spanish position on the continent did not at this time permit of any rupture with either England or France, and the wily Gondomar, who "had gained more for his master in England by his courtesy than the most famous Captain could have gained by his sword,"² took his place under the "State," notwithstanding the King's former announcement that no one should again sit there,³ and there he heard or swelled the praises sung by the chorus:

Join then to tell his name,
 And say but JAMES is he:
 All ears will take the voice,
 And in the tune rejoice,
 Or Truth hath left to breathe, and
 Fame hath left to be.⁴

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 533-4.

² S. R. Gardiner, *A History of England from the Accession of James I, to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (1900), iii, 290.

³ See *supra*, 120. Cf. also Appendix 75.

⁴ See Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, 139. *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*.

In January of the same year, 1621, six commissioners arrived on business from the States of the United Provinces. For their welcome, they were invited to a masque of the Middle Temple given on Shrove Tuesday, February 14, 1621, but the manner of their entertainment indicated their difference in rank from the Spanish Ambassador whose entertainment just preceded. They were provided with no banquet preceding the masque, only a bread and wine collation. Instead of being escorted to the masquing hall by the King, they were placed by the assistant Master of Ceremonies with Sir Noel Caron, in a box. No notice was taken of them during the masque by any of the royalty, and only after the masque was over and they were on their way to the banquet did the King deign to salute them in the guard chamber.¹ Parliamentary disputes, in 1621, kept James so busy that he seemed glad when the close of the year gave him excuse for putting aside everything except masques and sumptuous banquets.²

As Twelfthnight, 1621-22, approached, when the Court were to present Ben Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*, Girolenio, the Ambassador from Venice, had a grievance because he was invited to no masquing function the preceding year and he was informed that the Spaniard was to receive the honours of the present occasion alone. He heard from the Lord Chamberlain with whom he had been in communication that an invitation might be secured for the Venetian Ambassador upon condition that it would be refused. If, however, Venice insisted upon having her representative present at the masque, the Lord Chamberlain said, the

¹ See Appendix 76. Cf. also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 579.

² See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvii, 191.

favour must be secured through the Marquis of Buckingham. Girolenio answered that he did not stand so much in awe of the Spanish Ambassador as to pretend he was ill one day and well the next, as he must do if he refused the invitation, nor would he accept an invitation for his Prince, who was entitled to equal entertainment with any crowned head in Europe, "al par delle tefte coronate," except from King James himself. This insistence brought the desired result¹ and the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice heard the Dutch dialect this time exploited, as Welsh, Irish and Puritan had been before; but this time Jonson interjected an explanation that Vangoose "is no Dutchman, sir, he is a Briton born, but hath learned to misuse his own tongue in travel."²

The States' Ambassadors could not be invited to *The Masque of Augurs* because of their lack of recognition by Spain, the Russian Ambassador was omitted because he questioned the "precedence of all other Kings Ministers," and the French Ambassador was given opportunity of sending his wife and niece with his own refusal, "pro forma tantum."³ However, when he was asked for the same formal excuse on the

¹ See Appendix 77.

² See Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, *The Masque of Augurs*. Cf. also, "There was some idea not to invite me to the masque, which is one of the two annual ceremonies attended by the ambassadors. France was not asked because Spain had been. When I heard that they proposed to leave me out because Spain and I did not visit each other, I tactfully contrived to convey that your Serenity ought not to be deprived of the customary honour on that account, and finally I gained my point, to which I attached importance. The ceremony was most sumptuous. The ambassador and I conversed together most amiably without using any titles, except once he let slip a Most Illustrious but seeing me ready to respond with the same he gave over, showed me great honour and even made way for me." Lando, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvii, 216. Cf. also, *ibid.* note.

³ See Appendix 77.

fifth of May later, *The Masque of Augurs* being reproduced for the greater honour of dismissing the old Ambassador, Gondomar, and welcoming the new one, Don Carlos de Colonna, from Spain, Tillieus the French Ambassador answered:

that he most humbly kised his Majesties handes for the honour intended him; but his stomach would not (he said) agree with cold meat, and desired therefore his absence might be pardoned, thereby pointing at the Invitation & presence of the Spanish Amb^l in the first place at the same Maske the Christmas before now repeated.¹

Ben Jonson's *Time Vindicated*, the great Christmas or Twelfthnight masque for 1623, was designed for the entertainment of the French Ambassador (Tillieus) and his attractive niece "madmoifelle St Luc" who had been an important figure in all the social functions of the English Court for some time.² But while entertaining the French, whose turn it really was, the English found it very necessary to be wary of the feelings of the Spaniards³ with whom the negotiations for marriage were then in their most interesting stage. The right of the French and Spanish Ambassadors to receive the greatest honours of the English Court alternately had been for the time being apparently conceded. There was no immediate danger of an open breach between these two countries.

Spain's eyes had been for some time fixed upon her lost possessions in the Netherlands, and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War had given her new hopes. Therefore the greatest offense that England could

¹ See Appendix 78.

² *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxxvii, No. 27.

³ Cf. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvii, 544, also 549-50.

offer to Spain, would have been such a recognition of the States as would advertise to Europe, England's determination to maintain their independence. Unfortunately for the English, special ambassadors from the States were in England during the masquing season for the purpose of securing some English assistance. They hoped to receive such invitation to the great Court masque as would advertise to the world, England's friendly inclination. To avoid inviting them and thereby offending Spain, the masque was postponed in the hope that they would return home soon. Whether detained by business¹ or the hope that they might still secure the desired invitation, they remained with no promise of going until finally the plans of the wife and niece of the French Ambassador to return to Paris forced England into action.

Then began a series of proposed compromises between the States' Ambassadors and the English Court. First the Lord Chamberlain offered them a box apart at the masque and by themselves only. This they refused outright, demanding the privilege that their predecessors had enjoyed of sitting with the King. Then word was sent them that their presence would be distasteful to the French King and to Savoy. This they disapproved by getting the French Ambassador's permission to be present with him and by announcing that since no ambassador from Savoy was in residence in the English Court, that country could offer no objection. Finally the Lord Chamberlain announced to them that their numbers were more than he could accommodate; they answered that they would be pleased to have one of their number represent all. Finding no reasonable excuse except the displeasure which the presence of

¹ See Appendix 79.

the Dutch would give to Spain, the English Court were forced in the end to refuse outright to invite the Ambassadors from Holland to *Time Vindicated*. Spain again had won. A few of the States' followers were admitted merely as spectators and the French and Venetian Ambassadors were shown great honour, especially the French¹ whose wife led the "measures" with the Prince and whose niece was the centre of court comment for the evening. *Time Vindicated* as a masque received happy commendation, but the credit was given chiefly to Inigo Jones. Ben Jonson was again under a cloud because of his scathing criticism of George Withers whom he presented as Chronomastix or a "whipper of the time."²

Shortly after the presentation of *Time Vindicated*, in January, 1623, the Marquis of Buckingham and Prince Charles stole out of England into Spain for a romantic episode which had for its purpose the capture of the Spanish bride who should be brought back in all glory to the English throne.³ The report of the venture was of course quickly circulated and even the King took a hand in the composition of "verfes made vpon Jacke and Tom's iourney (for the Prince and L. marquis went through Gent vnder the names of Jacke and Tom Smith)."⁴ Ben Jonson went to work upon *Neptune's Triumph*, which was to celebrate the greatest event of all of James's reign and all preparations were put into readiness for the elaborate entertainments which an extravagant English taste demanded for such occasions.

¹ See Appendix 79, also Appendix 80.

² See Appendix 80, see also Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, *Time Vindicated*.

³ See *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxxviii, No. 59.

⁴ *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxx, No. 13.

But there were too many points of friction between England and Spain to insure a successful issue to Prince Charles's trip. About this time, the Spanish Ambassador, who had gone to Cambridge for audience with James, was "inuited to a play, but beeing made acquainted beforehand (for feare of offence) that the argument of yt consisted cheifly of a Jesuite and a puritan they wold not aduenture."¹ Many other signs, also, there were, indicating that Spain was not ready to meet England on the terms proposed for the marriage alliance. Buckingham made himself thoroughly obnoxious to the Court at Madrid and the two young men were forced after a six months' leave to return, unsuccessful in their mission.

Though Spain refused the terms of the marriage alliance, she was far from desiring an open breach with England. This is evinced by the arrival in England of two Ambassadors Extraordinary to keep the good feelings and to prevent Prince Charles from accepting the hand of the French King's sister (Marie Henrietta), before offered to his father. After his return, Buckingham gave a masque in November at which the King was a guest. It was marked by a dispute between the two Ambassadors Extraordinary of Spain. *Neptune's Triumph* prepared for the Infanta's coming, was reserved for Twelfthnight 1624.

When the masquing season, 1623-24, had arrived, however, the breach between Spain and England had grown and the English Court felt the need of more friendly relations with France. Therefore, although *Neptune's Triumph* was intended for the entertainment of the Marquis of Inojosa, the Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary, James sent to the French Ambassador

¹ *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxxix, 64.

requesting that he might be permitted to invite France "pro forma tantum" as he had done two years before.¹ The Frenchman answered that two years before, the marriage alliance between Spain and England seemed so close to fulfilment, that he accepted the invitation "pro forma tantum" to please King James; but now, "if his Majesty intended to invite him, he hoped he would also entertain him with fitting respects, for come he would, if he should be invited, & if he should not, & the other [the Spanish Ambassador] should, he would protest against it, & immediately return home to the King his Master with the account of his treatment."²

When this news reached the ears of Inojosa, he was enraged. He informed James at once, that since it was his right and his turn to be invited to the present masque, he expected an immediate invitation without further underhand consultations with the French. The quarrel grew so heated and promised such displeasure from both countries that, though everything was in readiness, the King and Court were forced to abstain from producing *Neptune's Triumph* or any substitute during the holidays.³ No other important masques are mentioned for the year except two in August. They were both out of London, given complimentary to Royalty and without comment of diplomatic importance.

When the following Twelfthnight arrived, the Spanish alliance was so far a failure, and the understanding with France so sure, that Spain had no ambassador in residence in the English Court. Ben

¹ See *supra*.

² See Appendix 81. Cf. also *State Papers Domestic James I*, clxxxviii, No. 33, and clviii, No. 5.

Jonson remodelled his *Neptune's Triumph* to fit the new conditions and presented the remodelled masque under the title of *The Fortunate Isles*, using the same three changes of scenery and all else that would fit the new conditions. The French-Spanish antipathy was so great that James ordered separate scaffolds for the Spanish and French followers; lest their "wranglings," even in the very presence of the King, should make an unpleasant interruption in the evening's entertainment.

Everyone understood that *The Fortunate Isles* had for its purpose the celebration of the coming marriage alliance between England and France, and therefore the French Ambassador the Marquis de Fiat became of course the guest of honour for the evening. With him in second place was Seignior Pesaro recently arrived from Venice. "Two Agents, Mons^r Brumeau for the King of Spain, and Mons^r Van Mal for the Archdutches" were also in attendance, since the difference in rank between an agent and an ambassador cleared all question of precedence, and they were "bestowed amongst the Lords beneath Earles, and above Barons."¹

While these negotiations between France and England were in progress, the English attitude toward Spain is indicated by a controversy over *A Game of Chess*.

MY VERY GOOD LORD:

Complaynt being made vnto his Ma^{ty} against y^e company of his comedians for acting publiquely a Play knowne by the name of a Game at Chesse contayning some passages in it reflecting in matter of scorne and ignominy vpon y^e King of Spaine some of his Ministers and others of good note and quality. His Ma^{ty} out of y^e tender regard hee had of that kings honno^r, and those his ministers who weare

¹ See Appendix 82.

conceived to bee wounded thereby, caused his letters to bee addressed to my LL and y^e rest of his most hon.^{ble} counsell, thereby requireing them to convent those his comedians before them, and to take such course with them for this offence as might give best satisfaction to y^e Spanish Ambassado^r and to their owne Honnors. After examinaçõn that hon.^{ble} Board thought fitt not onely to interdict them y^e playing of that play, but of any other also vntill his ma^{ty} should give way vnto them; And for their obedience herevnto they weare bound in 300£ bondes. Which punishment when they had suffered (as his Ma^{ty} conceives) a competent tyme; vpon their petiçõn delivered heere vnto hym; it pleased his Ma^{ty} to comaund mee to lett yo^r Lo^p: vnderstand which I pray yo^r Lo^p: to impart to y^e rest of that hon.^{ble} Board. That his ma^{ty} nowe conceives y^e punishment if not satisfactory for that their Insolency, yet such as since it stopps y^e current of their poore livelyhood and mainteⁿance without much prejudice they cannot longer vndergoe. In comiseracõn therefore of those his poore servants, his Ma^{ty} would have their LL:^{ps} Connive at any comon play lycenced by authority that they shall act as before; as for this of y^e Game at Chesse, that it bee not onely antiquated and sylenced, but y^e Players bound as formerly they weare, and in that poynt onely never to act it agayne; yet notwithstanding that my LL. proceed in their disquisiçõn to fynd out y^e originall roote of this offence, whether it sprang from y^e Poet, Players or both, and to Certify his Ma^{ty} accordingly. And so desireing yo^r Lo^p to take this into yo^r consideraçõn and them into yo^r care I rest

Yo^r Lo^{ps} most affectionat cousin

to serve you

PEMBROKE¹

Court at Woodstock

this 27th of Auguft

1624

¹ Pembroke (Ld. Chamberlaine) to the Council, in British Museum: *Egerton MSS.*, 2623, f. 28.

However, before the marriage of Prince Charles and Princess Marie could be performed, King James had seen his last masque. The assistant Master of Ceremonies makes note of the fact in the following words: "Here end the Services of my place of assistant Master of the Ceremonies under King James who died the 27th of March following."¹

King Charles, brought up in the school of his father, lived so extravagantly and so roused English people that the growing abuses of the Stuart reign brought on a revolution which kept England occupied with her own troubles to the neglect of important diplomatic influences, for some time to come. With the close of Charles's reign, the exclusive personal government and therefore the diplomatic significance of the masque passed out of existence. Too much has been said about the influence of Puritanism on the masque.² A deeper influence than what is ordinarily known as Puritanism was at work for the overthrow of hereditary principles in state and society. England had gradually formed so serious a distaste for many customs associated with the rule of the Stuarts that the disappearance of such customs was inevitable.

¹ See Appendix 82.

² "The world was still young, but the great Puritan wave swept over the land, carrying away with it things evil and good and the masque disappeared for ever."—H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (1897), *Introduction*, lviii.

CHAPTER V

THE COST OF DRAMATIC PRODUCTIONS IN THE COURT

THOSE who attempt to discover the cost of dramatic productions in the Court of James I meet two serious difficulties; first, the various items of expense are scattered through nearly every department of state, and second, many of the documents, of the reign of James I, are lost or have not yet been recovered from unknown places of deposit. It is difficult therefore to state, with any positiveness, the exact cost of these productions. Fortunately an estimate which determines approximately, throws light upon many things.

We know that Court custom, preceding the time of James I, gave patronage in the form of liveries, fees and privileges to those who acted in the Court. Edward VI supplied liveries to his "Enterlude players,"¹ and Elizabeth, whose policy placed the players under the patronage of her favourites, was yet sufficiently jealous of keeping them close to her, to fee them annually from the Royal treasury,² and though they are entered

¹ See Appendix 83.

² "Musicians and Players

Players of Enterludes fee to euery of them 66^s paññ." *A generall collection of all. the offices in England wth their fees in her Maiesties giuft—A^o diu 1593* in Public Record Office, Department of the Lord Chamberlain, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 33. Cf. also,

"M^r of the Reuells for the charge of playes by composition for the yeare ended vit Oct 1602

By order ccij Martij 1602. To Edmund Tilney Esqr M^r of the Reuells the some of Lxvj^s vj^s viij^d for his yearly allowance by waie of composition for defraying the ordinary chardges for playes only for the yeare ended the laft of Octobre laft p^{rs} dat x/Janñ ij. 1597. Lxvj^s vj^s viij^d," in *Exchequer of Receipt Miscellaneous, Order*

Book 1602-4, iii, 106.

upon the books of the Treasurer of the Chamber as "fervaunts of the Lorde Chamberleyne,"¹ in the Revells' accounts² and in the popular speech they are the "Queenes players."³

As soon as James I ascended the throne five companies of actors were immediately taken under Royal patronage, one company being attached, by membership, to the Household of each of the royal family. In the Household accounts of the King and in the accounts of the Minor Households, are to be found the regular expenses of these companies, besides many incidental expenses for them and fees to poets and others for literary productions.⁴ Indeed the players

¹ See *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, Bundle 387, Roll 40. *et passim*.

² See *Audit Office, Declared Accounts*, Bundles 1213 and 1214.

³ "Geven the xxvijth August 1591, to the Queenes players by my Lady's Com[mandement] xL^s." Account of John Brewer, *ibid.*, p. 452.

⁴ "Item geven in reward, by my L[ord's] commandment, to the Queenes players X^s." Account of the Household expenses at Winkburn for the Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle, in *Historical Manuscript Commission*, vii, 400.

⁴ "To her gracs plaiers for acting a Comedie in the Cocke pitt w^{ch} her highnes loft to M^r. Edward Sackvile on a wager V^l."

"Geuen by her g^r comaund to M^r. John Sylvester that p^resented verses to her g^r vpon the death of the late prince V^l."

"To James Maxwell that presented a booke to her grace iiij^l" in *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous*, Bundle 343; *Her highnes [Elizabeth] teachers fees and attendants allowance for the half-yere ending at the Ladie daie 1613, an account of money disbursed for gyfts and rewardes &c.*, Public Record Office, London.

"To a poore schollar with a booke to his highnes 3^l," in *Accounts &c (Exchequer Q. R.) of Prince Henry, July, 1608, to June 24, 1609*, Bundle, 433, No. 8; 20 October, 1908.

"One that presented a greate dictionarye

xx^l

M^r Drayton a Poett for One yere

x^l

M^r Owen the latyne Poett

xxx^l

Rowlande Cotgrave p^resentinge a dictionarye

x^l"

were so close to the Royal family that items of expense for their liveries, etc., are usually found in the personal accounts of their patrons with those of the fool, the jester and courtiers in high favour.² But besides the liveries, fees and privileges due to them as players,

in [Prince Henry's Accounts] *Declared Accounts, Privy Purse*, Bundle 2021, Roll 2.

Cf. also "Little Owen the maker of epigrams died not long since of a cold and was buried in Powles wherupon diuers poets his countrimen haue made epitaphes in his commendation and among the rest the Lord keeper whose verses I send you hereinclofed and to bear them companie an answer of S^r Edward Herberts to some verses that were made in praife of the pucelle of Orleans . . . from London

this 22 of December 1622

John Chamberlain"

in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxxiv, No. 80.

Cf. also:

"A warr dormant for Inigo Johnes S^rvey^r. of his Ma^{ty} works.—We will and comãund yo^r Imediatellie vpon the sight hereof to deliuer or caufe to be deliuered vnto o^r wel-beloued f^rvaunt Inigo Jones whom wee haue appointed to be S^rveyo^r of o^r works in the roome and place of S^rymon Bafile deceafed, these pcells hereafter following for his liuery. That is to say, ff^rive yards of broad clothe for a gowne at twentie six shillings eight pence the yard. One f^rure of Budge for the same Gowne, price four pounds, four yards half of baies to line the same gowne at five shillings the yard for furring the same gowne Ten shillings and for making the same gowne Ten shillings and further pleasure and comãudem is that yearlie from hence he deliuered vnto the said Inigo Jones the like pcells for his liuerie wth the furring and making of the same as aforefaid during his naturall lief and these o^r bres signed wth o^r owne hand shalbe yo^r sufficient warrant dormant and discharge in this behalf. Given vnder o^r Signet at o^r Pallace of Westm the fixteenthe day of March in the thirteenth yeare of o^r Raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the nine and fortieth," in Lord Chamberlain's Department, *Class 5 Miscellaneous, No. 128 (Warrants Dormant)*, page 121.

Cf. also expense accounts *passim*.

²"51 yds green & crimfon velvett for 2 rich suites & coates for Archy and Capes for players liveries" in *Lord Chamberlain's Office, Class 5 No. 92, 7*. See also Appendix 84.

they were grooms of the chamber,¹ and so entitled to the emoluments and privileges of both offices.² These were frequently considerable, though they did not always come directly from the private purse of the King or from his treasury.³

But salaries, fees and liveries of players were only a small part of the expense attached to the production of dramatic performances in the court. Each play presented before his Majesty called for a warrant, usually for "vi^s xiii^s iv^d allowance for the play and

¹ "To Augufine Phillippes and John Hemyngs for thallowaunce of themfelves and tenne of their fellows his Ma^{ty}s groomes of the chamber and Players for waytinge and attendinge on his Ma^{ty}s fervice by Com^{ma}undement vpon the fpanifhe embaffador at Somfette Howfe the fpace of xvij dayes viz from the ixth day of Augufte 1604 vntill the xxvijth day of the fame as appeareth by a bill therof figned by the Lord Chamberlayne xxj^l xij^s."

"To Thomas Greene for thallowaunce of himfelfe and tenne of his fellows groomes of the chamber and the Queenes Ma^{ty}s Players for waytinge and attendinge vpon Countye Arrenbergh and the reft of the comyffions at Durham howfe by com^{ma}undement the fpace of eighteene dayes viz from the ixth of Augufte 1604 vntill the xxvijth of the fame as appeareth by a bill thereof figned by the Lord Chamberlayne xix^l xvj^s," in *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, Bundle, 388, Roll 41, *Apparelling &c*, Public Record Office, London.

Cf. also *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 93, pp. 88 and 127 in Lord Chamberlain's Office. *Cf.* also Appendix 85.

² See Appendix 86 and 87.

³ Favours in the form of gifts presented by ambassadors and others to servants of the King were of course returned by gifts from members of the Royal family. Count Gondomar, ambassador from Spain reports to his King that "on New Years Day of this year 1615, 2350^{li} were given to the King's Guards, to the trumpeters, courriers, kettle drum-players, and other officers of the household in the accustomed manner," in *Spanish Transcripts, Series II*, xxxvi, Public Record Office, London. For similar entries *cf.* *Exchequer of Receipt, Pells Order Book*, iv, 84, *Mercury*, xii, Sept., 1604; *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber, B; Lansdowne MS.*, clxiv, No. 489 *et passim*. *Cf.* also appendix, 86.

lxvi^a” “by waie of his Ma^{ty} rewarde.”¹ To all these costs, attached to the persons of the players themselves, must be added the expense of the Master of the Revels for his examination of the plays,² the cost of halls for acting,³ rehearsing,⁴ costumes⁵ and all incidental items of expense such as preparing the rooms for the plays on each occasion,⁶ transporting the needed fur-

¹ “for everie of the faid plaies according to the vfuall allowaunce of vj£ xiii^s, iiiij^d the pece . . . and Lx vj^s for every plaie by waie of his Ma^{ty} rewarde,” in *Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 388, Roll 42, “*Payments vppon the Councells warrants*,” Public Record Office, London.

This fee varied somewhat as will be seen by a comparison of payments under Elizabeth, James I and Charles I. Cf. in The Lord Chamberlain’s Office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 93, p. 235 and 325 also *ibid*, No. 95, p. 174 and 237.

² Cf. “By order xxij Marty 1602. To Edmund Tilney esqr M^r of the Retuels the some of Lxvj£ vj^s viij^d for his yearly allowance by waie of composicon for defraying the ordinary chardges for playes only for the yeare ended the laft of Octobre laft p ðre dat xi Jañn 1599, Lxvj^l vj^s viij^d” in *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous, Order Book*, 1602–4, iii, 306.

³ Cf. “Westminster in making readye the great chamber with degrees, haulpaces with Bourdes and tressles and pticones, at the greate chamber and ftaire foote, for playes there at Christenmas,” in *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous*, Bundle 345.

“Settinge vpp degrees in the hall & bourdinge the same againste the Lo: Hayes marryage . . . pavinge a greate pth of the hall w^{ch} was taken vpp to place the degrees ftages and devises against the marriage of Lo: Hay,” in *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Works*, R. 39, B. 2419.

⁴ To John Hubborne gent vther daily wayto^r for the allowāunce of himselfe one yeoman vther three yeomen hangers twoe groomes of the wardrobe and one groome porter for making ready in Whitehall the greate chamber on the Quenes fide for ix feveral plaies for his Ma^{ty} and three Reherfalls plaies in Xpiñas holydaies vntill Easter xviiiij daies” . . . in *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 391, Roll 58.

⁵ Cf. *The Lord Chamberlain’s Office Accounts* (2), No. 4, p. 11.

⁶ Cf. The Lord Chamberlain’s Office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 95, p. 165.

nishings as well as the players themselves,¹ brushing, airing and perfuming costumes, scenery² etc., with other incidental expenses too numerous to mention.

All these expenses have to do, of course, only with the cost of plays presented at the Court. Plays attended by Royalty in the public theatres and the expense incurred there, is a matter of speculation as yet. It "cost Guistinian the Venetian Ambassador more than 20 crowns" to see *Pericles* played, but he went with the French Ambassador and his wife and the Secretary of Florence, and what items of expense, not properly included in the price of the ticket, helped to make up the twenty crowns (between \$125 and \$200 of our money to-day) we have no means of knowing.³ We have one account of "one Venner of Lincolns ynne" who made some money out of a sham play for which he charged two shillings or eighteen pence at least admission⁴ and the expense accounts of Lord

¹ Cf. "To John Hemyngs one of her Maties players vppon the Councells warrant dated at the Courte at Wilton iiij^o die December 1603 for the paynes and expences of himselfe and the rest of his companye in comynge from Mortelake in the Countie of Surrie vnto the Courte aforefayde and there p'fenting before his Matie one playe on the fecond of December laft by waye of his Maties reward xxxs," in *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 388, Roll 41. Public Record Office, London.

² Cf. *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Robes*, Bundle 2048, Roll 2.

³ A witness giving testimony for a Venetian ambassador on trial for alleged offences, one of which was that he attended public theatres to see a certain woman says, that he, "believes that all ambassadors who have come to England have gone to the play more or less. The Ambassador Guistinian went with the French Ambassador and his wife to a play called *Pericles* which cost Guistinian more than 20 crowns. He also took the Secretary of Florence," in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, ccrvii D. No. 908 in Public Record Office.

⁴ See *State Papers Domestic Elisabeth*, cclxxxv, No. 59.

Bayning and others include several items "at the Playhoufe" costing variously, but there are no very satisfying details of the cost of theatre going, yet found.

Whatever may have been the expense attached to plays, the cost could not of course approach the cost of the masques in which members of the royal family themselves took part. The expense of the masques is estimated from a few hundred pounds,¹ which is, however, in most cases, probably but a partial account, or the Court share of the expense, to twenty-one thousand pounds (from \$525,000 to \$900,000 of our money to-day), the amount paid by the Inns of Court for a masque given to Charles I in 1633.² Since the expense of the latter was shared by the four Inns of Court, it is quite probable that the accounts were kept more carefully and in more collected form than the Court accounts which are so scattered through various departments as to make a collected whole almost an impossibility. The payment of the Master of the Works who had charge of the stage, scenery, etc., is found in one account,³ the payment of the writer of the

¹ Cf. "To Thomas Woodward in full paym^t of the mafke cccxviij⁶ viij^d," in *Lansdowne MS.* 164, No. 2.

Cf. also *Lansdowne MS. passim* and *Warrant Books, James I, passim*.

² "The Persons imployed in this mafque were paid justly and liberally; some of the mufick had one hundred Pounds a-piece, so that the whole charge of the mufick came to about a thousand Pounds: the clothes of the Horfemen and the Leveries of the Pages and Lacquies which were at their own particular charge were reckon'd one with another at a hundred Pound a Suit at the least, and one hundred of those Suits to amount to ten thousand Pounds. The charges of all the rest of the Mafque, and matters belonging to it were reckon'd at as much more, and so the Charge of the whole Mafque which was born by the Societies, and by the particular members of it, was accounted to be above one and twenty thousand Pounds." — *State Papers Domestic James I, liv, art. 74.*

³ Cf. *State Papers Domestic James I, liv, art. 74.*

masque and the designer of stage machinery in others,¹ the accounts for the preparation of the halls in another,² payments to musicians, masquers and players³ in others, etc., so that one is never certain that the entire expenses of any one masque are included. Indeed almost every new set of documents of the time, opened, bears a tale of a new avenue through which money was expended in connection with masques or plays.

But to get an estimate of cost, the citing of even two extremes is scarcely sufficient. Chamberlain in his letter to Carleton, 25 February, 1612, speaks of "the ynnes of Court whose two mafkes stoode them in better then 4000£ [\$100,000 to \$160,000] besides the gallantrie and expense of private gentlemen that were but anteambulones and went only to accompanie them."⁴ The masque to introduce the King's new

¹ "A table of all the Pensions and fees payable at the exchequer circa Jac. i.

"Beniamino Johnson, Sol duram vitae sua ad iiiij^o ani Terminos primo february anno xiiij^{to} p^o seruico lxxvi^o xiiij^o iiiij^d," in *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous A*, 25/2, vol. 21.

"The La Eliza:
her
marriage

{	Inigo Jones for the mafq ₃	iiiij ^o £" [400£]
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in *Lansdowne MS.*, 164, No. 450.

² "To George Pollarde . . . for makeinge readie the banquettinge house at Whitehall for the mafke for the kinge and Queene by the space of iiiij^o daies menfe Januarij 1604," in Audit Office, *Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, Bundle 388, Roll 42.

" . . . and for making ready the banqueting house at Whitehall for the Mafke and the Lord Threars Chamber for the maskers to attyer themselves by the space of fower daies menf^o februar 1607 lccviiij^o viij^d," in Audit Office, *Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, Bundle 388, R. 45.

³ "To M. Johnson for making the Daunces. xx^o£
Twoe cornetts iij^o£
Players employed in the mafke xv^o£"

in *Pells Order Book*, x, f. 181, v^o Decimo die Maij, 1611.

⁴ See *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 48.

favourite, George Villiers, cost James I 1500£ (\$37,500 to \$60,000) for his share;¹ the entertainment for the marriage of the Lord of Roxborough and Mistress Jane Drummond at Somerset House is said to have cost the Queen "about 3000£"² (\$75,000 to \$120,000). Again Chamberlain writes to Carleton, 23 December, 1613: "S^r Fra: Bacon prepares a maske to honor this mariage w^{ch} will ftand him in about 2000£."³ A masque and banquets given by the Lord of Duncaster is estimated "about 3000£."⁴ Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England, writes to the Doge and Senate, 11 January, 1613: "They are preparing against the marriage day four masques, one of Earls and Barons, one of Countesses and Baronesses, the fourth of Knights and the fifth of lovely maidens. They are to cost upwards of one hundred thousand crowns,"⁵ and Sherbourne writing to Carleton, 18 November, 1616, says: "There is preparaçon for a maske at Christmas wherein his Highnes means to be in person; this will increase his Ma^{ty} debt by 2000£ as the report goes."⁶ King James set aside 4000£ for Prince Charles's first masque⁷ while the masque for Twelfthnight, 1604-5, is said to have cost the King between 4000£ and 8000£⁸ (between \$100,000 and \$200,000 of our money to-day). When Queen Anne was preparing the *Masque of Beauty* for the encouragement of the French-English marriage alliance in 1608, a warrant of 1000£ (\$25,000 to \$40,000) was drawn for her use.⁹ This was found so insufficient

¹ See *supra*. ² *Ibid*. ³ *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxv, No. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cxix, No. 24. ⁵ See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 473.

⁶ *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxxvii, No. 33. ⁷ See *supra*.

⁸ See *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 16.

⁹ See *Pells Order Book*, viii, f. 49, 64, 70, 81, 93, III, 148; also *Lansdowne M.S.*, clxiv, f. 487, 489, 493. Cf. also *Warrants II*, f. 54, v^o. Cf. also *Warrant Book II*, p. 140; *Domestic Documents (Docquets) James I* (1610-11), x; and *State Papers Domestic James I*, lii, No. 4.

that King James later enlarged the warrant as requested to "some reafonable encrease," making the new warrant "wthout limitation of a somme but left to such byls as" by the Lords appointed should be signed and allowed.

But any estimate of expense fails to give an idea of the grandeur of masquing entertainments in the Court. At a time when a knight's "doublet, hofe and cloke all blacke and wthout any kinde of gold, filuer or embroderie" cost "aboue fourfcore pound,"¹ when the daughters of nobles wore clothes that cost "50£ [about \$1200 to \$2000] the yard, the embroderie,"² when diamonds and pearls were sewed upon cloaks, breeches and jackets,³ when Ladies "and that vnder a baronelfe is faide to be furnished for better then an hundred thousand pounds" (about two million dollars and a half of our money) for jewels alone for a masque,⁴ even

¹ "Sr Rofe Winwod was there likewife and had a very fayre payre of gloves of three pound price w^{ch} he well deferued for he made a fuit of apparell againtf the wedding of only a doublet hofe and cloke, all blacke and wthout any kinde of gold filuer or embroderie that cost him aboue fourfcore pound." Chamberlain to Mistris Carleton, 30 Dec., 1613, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxv, No. 53.

² Cf. *supra* 71.

³ "The King's cloak, breeches and jacket were all sewn with diamonds, a rope and jewel of diamonds also in his hat of inestimable value. The Queen had in her hair a great number of pear-shaped pearls, the largest and most beautiful there are in the world, and there were diamonds all over her person so that she was ablaze." *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498.

⁴ "Sr we had great hope to haue you here this day, and then I wold not haue geuen my part of the mafke for many of theyre that fhallbe present, for I perfume you and yo^r Lady wold find eafy pafsage being fo befrended, for the shew is put of till fonday by reafon all thinges are not redy, whatfoeuer the deuife may be, and what fuccelfe they may haue in theyre dauncing, yet you shold haue ben fure to haue feen great riches in iewells, when one Lady and that vnder a baronelfe is faide to be furnished for better then an hundred thousand pounds and the Lady Arabella goes beyond her and the Q. must not come behinde." Jan. 8, 1607, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xxxi, No. 4.

twenty-one thousand pounds, over half a million dollars, the largest estimate cited for any single masque, seems seriously inadequate to make one realise the splendour and the expense.¹

The consideration of some of the items of expense may not be out of place. Long before the date set for the production of a great masque, the writer of the masque, with the designer of scenery and costumes, musicians, painters, dancing masters, etc., set to work to formulate their plans.² These finished, words, music, dance and scenery must be fitted together, examined and approved, before the masquers could begin the long periods of practice. But the men who assisted in all those things, must be paid, not only for their inventions but for their continued and laborious assistance at rehearsals.

The masquers were members of the royal family and nobles of highest rank who could not of course practise in ordinary houses nor with inexpensive appliances. Sometimes elegant palaces were given over for this purpose³ for long periods of time, the rehearsals lasting, as in the case of the Prince's masque, for at least fifty days.⁴ Noble masquers had masquing

¹ "It has been calculated that the average cost of the production of a masque was £1400, that is about £6000 of our present money." H. A. Evans, *English Masques*, xxx, note.

² See Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, where he tells us that Queen Anne warns him a year in advance of what she wishes.

Cf. also Ralph Winwood, *Memorials* (1732), 19-22. Cf. also preparations for Prince Charles's first masque, *infra*.

³ "for making ready Somerfett house for her Matie when her highnes practized dauncing againft the time of masking." Audit Office, *Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber* (1607), Bundle 388, Roll 45.

⁴ "To Will^m Marthe and three of his fellowes groomes of his Mat^{ies} chamber vpon a bill fubfcrib'd by the Lorde Chamberleyne for the allowaunce of themselves and one groome porter rydinge, waytinge and attendinge by the comaundem^t of Mr Gofnoll gentleman vther at

suits purchased at the expense of the State.¹ The expense of maintaining these palatial quarters, with the attendance of servants, household expenditures in the way of lights, fuel, furnishings and all the accessories, must be added into the final account. One great hall was burned because of the inflammable quality of the masquing material stored there, so halls and material must be guarded by day and night "for fear of daunger or hurte by fire."²

During all this practice, there were bills for messengers, transportation, etc., to notify the nobility who were to appear as performers,³ of the time and place for re-

Newmarket vpon the maskers duringe there tyme of practifinge by the space of fiftie dayes in the monethes of Nouember and December 1616, xlj & xiiij^a iiij^d." Audit Office, *Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 390, R. 54.

¹"Three fuits for the mafke . . . 299£ 16^s 6^d-ob" *Exchequer (Q. R.)*, 434, No. 9.

"Denfill Hollis
Jo: Maynard
and
Patrick
Abercromy
Item to Denfill Hollis, John Maynard and Patrick Abercromy for masking apparrell and such like attire to them giuen by of deere ffather 0^{liii} ix^s" [189^s]

in Lord Chamberlain's Department, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 92 (*Warrant Books 1622-30*) p. 41.

²"To John Palmer one of the groomes of his Ma^{tes} chamber being commanded by the right honorable the Lord Chamblaine to watch continually night by night in the banquetting house afwell for preserving his Ma^{tes} ftuffe therein as for feare of daunger or hurte by fire in the said house during the tyme the workemen wrought there for three severall Maskes therein to bee pformed by the space of xliij nights menß Novembr, Decembr et Januarij 1613 vij^s." Audit Office *Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 390, R. 51.

³"Thomas Cooke one of the groomes of the Prince his chamber beinge sente in his highnes Service by y^e comand of y^e Right honorable y^e Lord Cary Chamberlen to y^e court at newmarket to London to warne all the maskers & the moufichions to attend her highnes y^t day feauennight at Theobales & theor ftayinge thre dayes befor he could finde them all he returned the feauenth day wth anfwer." *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous*, vol. cccxlviij, Prince of Wales, 1617-30, mensis februarij anno Regis Jacobi Decimo Nono 1622.

hearsals, their entertainment, etc. Illustrious painters, poets,² companies of players,² and individual actors² were called in whose reputation made their advice valuable, dancing masters, authorities upon armour, drapers, etc., almost without number.

Finally when carpenters, painters, moulders, machinists, decorators, etc., had left their last touches on stage, scenery and costume, the Royal chambers had been

² Cf. *Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous*, B. 348.

"Thomas Cooke one of y^e groomes of y^e Prince his chamber beinge fent in his highnes servise by y^e comānd of M^r Younge Gentleman vs^rher daily waiter to y^e Prince his highnes of five severall messages 5 severall times into London of one to M^r Taylor in to shordich, of a nother by the like comand to y^e blacke friers to his Matis players a nother to warne all y^e trompets to be at St James y^e monday following at ayght of y^e clocke of a nother by the like comānd to M^r oliver to the Blackfriars w^{ch} severall servises beinge done he Returned to y^e Court at St James each time with anwser for w^{ch} he praieth to haue a lowance for his bote hier & charges to & fro to be rated by the Right honorable the Lord Cary Chamberlen to the Prince his highnes & to bee paid by y^e Right worshipfoll S^r Adam Newton Knight & Baronet Receiver Generall of his highnes Treasure X^s

Cary

Peter Young,"

in *Exchequer of Receipt Miscellaneous*, ccxlviii, *Prince of Wales Accounts*.

"Thomas Cooke one of y^e groomes of the Prince his chab^r beinge fent by Com^d: of M^r Peter Newton gent: vs^rher daylye wayter to y^e prince his highnes of 2: severall messages frō the Courte at Whitehall: the one to my Lo: hubberd the other to M^r Confes at y^e Redd Bull." *Ibid.*

Cf. also "Item to Thomas Watson Taylo^r for making fyve fotes for fyve speakers in the maske viz Orpheno his antique coate armor wth baces Labells breeches & mantle Lanna for her Roabe wth doble fleeves & Petycoate Entheus his roabe & mantle & a pre of doble fleeves Prometheus his roabe & mantle Sibilla her Roable petycoate & vaile.

"Item to John Smyth for Two hundreth & fower yerds of copper stuffes & Thre hundreth & eighteen yerds of tyncells of golde & silv^r employvd vpon markers appell." In *MS. Additional Warrants*, 5751, f. 27.

fresh strewn with rushes¹ and the part of the floor set aside for the masquing performance had been covered with green cloth,² the last advice of experts had been taken, a banquet was provided before the masque, refreshments were served at intervals and an elaborate and expensive feast to guests and friends closed the evening.³

¹ "in these royal chambers, we remarked that the floors were all strewed with certain dried rushes which in plain Italian might be called downright hay! and they lay it very deep: this custom is observed throughout the kingdom to keep their apartments dry." Busino's letter in *Venetian Transcripts*, No. 142, p. 52.

² "To Richard Ancell vpon lyke warraunte dated at Whitehall vj^{to} die Aprilis 1616 for fowing and nailing downe greenecloth inthe Banqueting house againft the Maske at xp̄inas laft 1615 lxxvij^{or}d," in Audit Office, *Declared Accounts, Treas. of Cham.*, B. 390, R. 53, *Payments . . . vpon warrantes of the Lorde Chamberlaine, vis.* Cf. *supra* 114.

³ Cf. *infra* 168¹.

The Venetian Lando reports a banquet which alone he estimates at 2000£ (see *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 534), while Chamberlain places the cost of the same banquet at 3000£ (between \$75,000 and \$120,000) besides verdigris used in cooking which he says cost 300£ more. See *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1619-23, 214.

CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCE OF DIPLOMATIC CONDITIONS UPON LITERATURE

THE knowledge of the occasion producing or accompanying the presentation of important Court¹ masques is of value to a student of literature. This is true, first, because of the influence of these occasions upon the literature they brought into existence and, second, because of the influence of the big occasions and their masques upon other masques and other masque-producing occasions.² Finally, knowledge of the masque-producing occasions is important because of the influence of all such occasions upon other species of dramatic literature and the producers of them. A proper consideration of any of these requires a very large volume of itself: the present treatment can give only a very few suggestions.

We shall consider first the influence of the diplomatic occasion upon the most important Court masques themselves. The fact that they were connected with the Court, in its political capacity, accounts, in some measure, for the expense such masques entailed. It

¹ It seems hardly necessary to note here that there is no intention to represent the masque as the only index to European policies.

² These latter served political and social purposes chiefly and ranked second in importance to the international, diplomatic ends served by the chief masques of the Court.

was a piece of diplomatic wisdom for James and his Court to make a good showing in the eyes of the world assembled in the diplomatic corps attending such Court functions. James's tenure of office was none too secure when he came to England, therefore we find one party resorting to every means to make it appear that the English were willingly supporting their sovereign. The country lost influence in the Courts abroad and was more open to foreign attack whenever there were evidences of a lack of respect by the English people for their King.¹

It was felt by the supporting party that the King must not be hampered for money but graciously supplied by a loving people. Therefore James and his Court presented themselves in a different costume each day,² wearing gowns of such elaborate magnificence to the masques as to bring comments of surprise from representatives of every Court in Europe.³ Entertainments given by James in honour of other European powers, whose goodwill England needed, must be of becoming richness and elegance for a sovereign of England's claims. This helps to explain why orders without limit were given upon the exchequer for masques, when money was most difficult to obtain and all the departments of state were in sore need.⁴ Nor must it

¹ Cf. "il se peut dire que ce Prince [James I] n'est nullement aimé ni respecté dans son Royaume." Boderie to Puisieux, 24 April (O. S. 14), 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 229.

² See *supra*, 71.

³ See *supra*, *passim*.

⁴ "The difficulty of raising money here augments daily, although very frequent discussions are held on the subject. The debts and interest have greatly increased, whilst the natural prodigality of his Majesty has in no wise diminished. At this moment no small exertions are being made to obtain a certain sum for a masque to be performed by the Prince and for ordinary expenses of the household." Piero Contarini in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 87, 29 Dec., 1617.

Cf. also *supra*.

be thought that the King of England was alone in stooping to enhance his power by such advertisement. Continental sovereigns used similar means,² even when the state of the treasury was less able to sustain them than the treasury of England.³

During the presentation of masques in the English Court, such tricks were resorted to as the giving of costly gifts to his Majesty to impress upon the representatives of foreign powers the love of James's courtiers and people for their King, though the gifts were paid for out of the King's purse or the public treasury.³ Courtiers and ambassadors were rewarded by favours, which sometimes had international significance, for dressing in extravagant costume and putting their servants into livery in the King's honour.⁴ The masques themselves were pæans of praise, taking note of all the virtues of the Royal Sovereign, his family and realm, and stressing, in his honour, all things to the King's liking while condemning things known to be distasteful to him.

To make this advertising the more efficacious for the exploiting of James and the success of his reign, complimentary masques, given at the Court in his honour, were frequently preceded by a most elaborate procession through the streets of London. These processions escorted the masquers to the Royal palace, re-

² Cf. *supra*, 29, 52 and 67; also *State Papers Miscellaneous, Domestic and Foreign*, No. 213, 34.

³ Cf. "To my Lo: of Salisburye

The courte is followed wth Comediants that haue a daily pay of 25ff and of mulatiers, that haue other 20ff and thofe to whome the Kinge owethe heere doe daylie die for wante of breade." C. Cornwallis, Ambassador in Spain, 1606, in *State Papers Domestic and Foreign*, No. 213, 678-81.

³ See *supra*, 12.

⁴ See *supra*, 71.

counting in their pageants naval and military successes of England, the influence of England abroad, and all else that would please English subjects and praise their King and country. Many such processions had for their avowed purpose the impression of foreigners for diplomatic ends.¹

If the processions which ushered the masquers to the Court were of such importance diplomatically, the duration of the masquing performance itself offered almost unlimited opportunity for keen minds to discover or influence the trend of international affairs. Because of these opportunities, punctilio became a science to which the greatest minds of the day were forced to give much laborious attention.² Under cover of the entertainment, important political meetings were arranged, promises were made, secrets were extracted and the preliminaries which made or broke treaties were often begun. It was an interesting warfare, this. On no battlefield did an astute campaigner ever lay schemes for conquest more tirelessly. Instead of forts and intrenchments were magnificent

¹ "I did not write nor publish this description of Fire and Water Triumphs to the intent that they should onely reade the relation that were spectators of them; for to such persons it will relish somewhat tedious, like a tale that is too often told; but I did write these things, that those who are farre remoted, not onely in his Majestie's dominions, but also in forraine territories, may have an understanding of the glorious pomp and magnificent dominion of our high and mighty monarch King James; and further to demonstrate the skills and knowledge that our warlike nation hath in engines, fire-workes and other military discipline, that thereby may be knowne, that howsoever warre seems to sleepe yet (upon any lawful ground or occasion) the command of our dread Sovereigne can rouse her to the terrour of all malignant opposer of his Royall state and dignity." John Taylor, the water poet, "A Description of the Sea-fights," etc., at the marriage of Elizabeth, 1613, in John Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, ii, 527-8.

² Cf. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, 317. Also Appendix 60.

halls and palaces; instead of soldiers and sailors, bands of musicians, dancers, players and masques; instead of generals, kings, queens and their ambassadors, and instead of military tacticians, men versed in the more intricate code of Court punctilio. It was a game in which a woman might indulge and for forty-four years a woman kept all Christendom watching with intensest anxiety for her next play. No literature is more interesting, more full of most thrilling excitement than the voluminous correspondence of Elizabeth and the ambassadors at her Court with kings and queens and ambassadors in other Courts.

Many times Elizabeth invited an ambassador to a magnificent masquing entertainment and there flattered him so ingeniously and toyed with him so graciously that she was able to determine upon the wisest state policy in consequence of what she had elicited. She was not a spendthrift, but she might well consider the money wisely invested that flattered a country, through its ambassador, into more friendly relations or elicited state secrets upon which she might base important decisions.¹ On one occasion we find Guzman de Silva, Spanish Ambassador in London, writing to King Philip II:

After closing the letter which goes herewith, I have learnt that the cause of the postponement of the interview of the Emperor's Ambassador with the Queen from tomorrow to the day after is that her Majesty leaves for Windsor on that day and wishes to take him with her and entertain him there on a visit for seven or eight days. I believe the object of it is to frighten the Queen of Scotland into the belief that the marriage [of Elizabeth and the son

¹ See bill for masques and revels, 14th of Eliz., for 4529£ 9^s 8^d ob in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class 2*, No. 13.

of the Emperor] is to take place and concede better terms to this Queen with regard to her own. These people never stir without some object in view.¹

Here was a week of elaborate entertainment for the purpose of misleading Catholics in England, Scotland and Ireland into the belief that Elizabeth was willing to make concessions to them by marrying the Catholic Archduke Charles at a time when the centre of European intrigue was concerning itself with the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism.

On another occasion when Elizabeth was anxious to discover Philip's plans concerning a rumoured marriage of his son and the Scotch Queen, she invited the Spanish Ambassador during a "comedy" to the choicest place near her person, where she showered upon him all sorts of favours, even begging him to "forget that the Queen was there and look upon her as a private lady."² He was wily indeed who could withstand the charms of England's Queen, dressed in her most dazzling costume,³ when she deliberately

¹ See *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 464. Cf. also *ibid.*, Introduction, 44.

² See *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 367.

³ "The Queen was clad in Taffety of silver and white, trimmed with gold; her dress was somewhat open in front and showed her throat encircled with pearls and rubies down to her breast. Her skirts were much fuller and began lower down than is the fashion in France. Her hair was of a light colour never made by nature, and she wore great pearls like pears round her forehead; she had a coif arched round her head and an Imperial crown, and displayed a vast quantity of gems and pearls upon her person; even under her stomacher she was covered with golden jewelled girdles and single gems, carbuncles, balas-rubies, diamonds; round her wrists in place of bracelets she wore double rows of pearls of more than medium size." Giovanni Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate (1603), in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, ix, No. 1135.

surrounded herself with all the attractions of her sumptuous Court and let down the barriers of convention in the presence of all her courtiers.

Elizabeth played this game more wisely than her successor and her keen eyes and quick, subtle mind often put the ingenuity of the wiliest politician to the test for means to guard the state secret, which, under cover of the favour of these entertainments, she so frequently attempted to extort. Philip II had occasion to know her and the Spaniards had a reputation for astuteness and great political acumen, but even they were sometimes so perplexed as to cry out, "By what I write to Madame [the Duchess of Parma] your Lordship will see what a pretty business it is to have to treat with this woman who I think must have a hundred thousand devils in her body."¹

The game in the hands of the less wily James loses a bit of its fascination from the greater ease with which one determines his next move, but neither sovereign will be criticised for the importance attached to masquing functions when we realise their varied purpose. Many times ambassadors complained that it was absolutely impossible to get access to the King or that affairs of international importance must wait because a series of entertainments, usually masques and plays, were in preparation or in process of presentation and the Court refused to have its amusements interrupted for matters of more seeming seriousness. On several occasions, foreign ambassadors or men of the Court were forced to put aside weighty problems of state, until a masque, then in preparation, had been

¹ See Aquila, Spanish Ambassador in England, to Feria, 27 December, 1559, in *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 119.

produced.¹ We remember that the French Ambassador, on one occasion, although urged to return to Paris by couriers express, delayed his departure rather than offend Queen Anne by failing to be present at her masque.²

Under such conditions an ambassador could do nothing except await the masque, bend all his energies toward securing an invitation³ if he had not already done so, and by beautiful dress, engaging manners, and clever dancing so ingratiate himself with those in power as to secure promise of redress for the matter of state in hand, or if he failed of achieving so much during the masque to get appointment for an interview with King or Council which would permit him to present his country's cause later.⁴

Under such circumstances, when King and Court were bending every energy, during a masque, to sense or influence a political situation, those who were in the business of making literature for masques learned what topics to avoid and what to enlarge upon for their own self-preservation. The Lord Chamberlain who permitted a production to be presented before the King was not the only tribunal to which dramatic efforts were subjected, for the royal family was not slow in showing its pleasure or disfavour toward a product while it was being presented or afterward. A play or a masque that pleased was often produced more than once; those that failed to give satisfaction were so strongly censured after they were over, or were

¹ "Monsieur,

"Ce Ballet dont vous n'avez deja que trop oui parler; à ete ce qui entièrement occupé le Bureau en cette Cour, & devant & depuis mes precedentes." 29 Janvier, 1608, de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 42.

Cf. also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, letter of Foscarini, 2 September, 1613.

² See *supra*, 65-6.

³ See *supra*.

⁴ See *supra* 121.

received with such signs of disfavour while they were being produced, the presentation being positively broken off at times by royal displeasure, that producers of literature learned to be wary.

To take examples from the reigns of James and his predecessor; Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge in 1564, where according to custom she was entertained with debates, plays, etc., but whether she had a foretaste of its character, or for some other cause, she failed to find time to see one dramatic endeavour, especially prepared, with much effort, for her pleasure. The players were so disappointed that they followed her on her journey toward London until finally she was induced to listen to them at her first stopping place. Those Cambridge men had occasion to know Elizabeth's attitude toward Catholicism but they failed to follow the political situation sufficiently to realise how little the English Queen dared, at this time, to disregard the feelings of Philip, "His Catholic Majesty." Elizabeth knew that the Spanish Ambassador was astutely reading every clue to her feelings, ready to use any argument to her Catholic subjects against her. So when the Cambridge players attempted to entertain her with a production which outraged the feelings of Spain and the English Catholics, the Queen was enraged. In the midst of the performance, she threw aside all ceremony and abruptly left the room in a towering passion. Elizabeth had a reputation for vigorous and even unpolished English when her temper demanded it, and on this occasion she is credited with "using strong language" as she left the room taking with her all the torch-bearers and leaving players and audience in total darkness.¹

¹ "When the Queen was at Cambridge they represented comedies and held scientific disputations, and an argument on religion in which

The report of this was not only widely circulated through the realm but to all the courts of Europe, as indeed it is possible Elizabeth intended it should be, by ambassadors and strangers in England and by England's ambassadors abroad. After such drastic treatment, it would be strange if any man would risk incurring the odium which rested upon the University and more especially upon the writers and actors for all time to come.¹

the man who defended Catholicism was attacked by those who presided, in order to avoid having to give him the prize. The Queen made a speech praising the acts and exercises, and they wished to give her another representation which she refused in order to be no longer delayed. Those who were so anxious for her to hear it, followed her to her first stopping-place and so importuned her that at last she consented.

"The actors came in dressed as some of the imprisoned Bishops. First came the bishop of London carrying a lamb in his hands as if he were eating it as he walked along, and then others with devices, one being in the figure of a dog with the Host in his mouth. They write that the Queen was so angry that she at once entered her chamber using strong language and the men who held the torches, it being night, left them in the dark, and so ended the thoughtless and scandalous representations; London 19th August 1564." Guzman de Silva, Spanish Ambassador in London, to King Philip II, in *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 375.

¹ Actors did not suffer alone from Royal criticism or interruption. Guzman de Silva writes to Philip II, 12 March, 1565, "On the following day, Ash Wednesday, she [Elizabeth] went into a great courtyard where on occasions such as this the sermon is preached, so that the people on all sides may hear, as great crowds go, although the Queen tells me that more go to see her than to hear the sermon. The preacher was the dean of St. Paul's, who has replaced the one now in prison from whom he must be very different in person and doctrine. After preaching for some time he began to speak ill of a book written by a Catholic, who is in Louvain, in praise of the cross and went on to abuse images. As soon as he commenced the Queen said 'Do not talk about that.' The preacher, as I am told, could not have heard her and went on, whereupon the Queen raised her voice and pointedly said to him, 'Leave that, it has nothing to do with the subject, and the matter is thread-

In the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, when she was encouraging overtures from all the marriageable men of the courts of Europe as well as of her own country, and playing them off against each other with such excellent success; when either in turn or in conjunction the suits of the King of Spain, the King of France, Don Carlos, the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Anjou or of Alençon, the Danish or Swedish princes, with Leicester, Raleigh, Arran and others were being preferred, it would be strange if so popular and romantic a topic, one of such universal interest in the speech of every one, should fail to get into literature. In fact we find Elizabeth herself, on one occasion, publishing her refusal of the advances of the King of Sweden by making fun of his ambassadors "in masques in their own presence," until they left the Court, "aggrieved and offended," because the ridicule was encouraged "by the Queen more than by anybody."¹

bare." Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 405.

Cf. also *ibid.*, 286, and *State Papers Domestic James I*, 140, No. 13.

Near the close of James's reign, Chamberlain wrote to his friend Carleton: "Many of our churchmen are hardly held in and their tongues ythch to be talking infomuch that Dr. Euerard the preacher at St Martins in the field is committed for sayeng somewhat more then he fhold; and on foday laft at the parish church next to vs, another went fo far that the parfon of the church caufed the clerke to fing him downe wth a p^{al}me before he had half don."

¹ "The King of Sweden's ambassadors who have arrived are being treated by the Queen in a manner that does away with any doubt about her marrying their master, for they are being made fun of in masques in their own presence." The Bishop of Aquila to Philip II (1559), in *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 91.

"The Swedish ambassadors are leaving much aggrieved and offended, as I believe it was brought to their notice that they were being made fun of in the palace and by the Queen more than by anybody. I do not think it matters much whether they depart pleased or displeased." *Ibid.*, cci, 93.

Nor was Elizabeth averse to recognising references to her own marriage. Guzman de Silva writes King Philip II of one famous diversion prepared for Queen Elizabeth in 1565 by Leicester in which part of the entertainment consisted of a comedy.

The plot was founded on the question of marriage discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave a verdict in favour of matrimony after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, "This is all against me." After the comedy there was a masquerade of satyrs or wild gods, who danced with the ladies, and when this was finished there entered 10 parties of 12 gentlemen each, the same who had fought in the foot tourney, and these, all armed as they were, danced with the ladies,—a very novel ball, surely.¹

Naturally the marriages of Royalty were of universal interest everywhere and we find the Venetian Ambassador in France reporting similar conditions concerning allusions in masques given by the French Court.²

James, too, though he was neither so willing as Elizabeth to subordinate his own pleasure to state needs nor so wise in discerning those needs, influenced dramatic productions by his requirements or behaviour. But we find an author sometimes pleasing his audience

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 404.

² "Last week the king's sister gave a masque which proved a most brilliant function. It constituted practically a triumph upon her marriage, allusions being made to her journey in the music and ceremonies. All the ambassadors were invited but owing to difficulties of precedence only the Nuncio, Spain and I attended." Pietro Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, 31 March, 1615, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, 394.

Cf. also *supra*, 67.

without pleasing James and at other times pleasing the King without satisfying all his guests. We remember the second production of *Pleasure Reconci'd to Virtue* which brought applause from the audience and condemnation from politicians for the ridicule of the Welch.¹ *The Irish Masque*² and *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*³ brought similar criticism because of the unwise treatment of Irish and Puritans, but the summary punishment meted out to men like Jonson and his fellows who amused themselves with references to the Scots, warned every one from that subject.⁴

On one occasion James sent word to Cambridge that the length of a play to be given in his honour must be reduced from "fix or feuen hours to four or five." At another time, James showed his annoyance so much over the tediousness of "a comedie of the mariage of the Arts" by "Dr. Corbet dean of Christchurch" that the author was "flouted" with verses made and cried out by boys on the street.⁵

When James gave his only daughter, Elizabeth, in marriage to the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Bacon saw an opportunity for achieving a popularity heretofore scarcely within his reach and ingratiating himself with Royalty for all time by means of a complimentary

¹ See *supra*, 119.

² See *supra*, 92.

³ See *supra*, 126.

⁴ See *Eastward Hoe*.

⁵ "Here be certain verses made of Dr. Corbet deane of Christchurch who preaching before the king at Woodstocke last fommer was fo grauelled that he was faine to geue ouer, neither had he better lucke in his play then in his preaching, for thincking to mend the matter, wth a comedie of the mariage of the Arts yt proued fo tedious as well for the matter as the action, that the king indured yt wth great impatience wherupon the very boyes and children flouted yt wth a rime." Chamberlain to Carleton, 26 February, 1622, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, cxxvii, No. 101.

masque which would represent the union of the Thames and the Rhine. It was a topic ambitiously conceived and executed with no regard for effort or expense. All London, with unsubdued excitement and satisfaction, watched the magnificent naval display which heralded the masquers to the Palace. But the masquers came at an inopportune time; James had already given two nights to revelry and he was too tired to be interested in a third. Bacon was placed in a most embarrassing predicament—so near to fame, he saw himself the butt of ridicule of enemies and the object of the complaints of knights and others whose money he had so lavishly expended. He begged humbly and pathetically that James would not bury him “quicke” by refusing to see the masque now all ready, but the weary King’s only answer was the flippant remark that “then they must burie him quicke for he could last no longer.”

If James could be so thoughtless as not to notify Bacon and his masquers of his inability to see their masque before all the device had been exposed, it is scarcely to be expected that he would be more considerate during a masquing performance. We find him interrupting *The Masque of the Knights of India and China* and making merry with Philip Herbert, who was representing “a colt of Bufephalus race,” and insisting upon this colt dancing as well as “Bankes his horfe.”¹ At the presentation of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, the first masque of his son Charles, we remember, James cried out in dreadful temper, “Why don’t they dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all, dance.”²

¹ Appendix 3.

Cf. “To Bankes for teaching of a little naig to vault be his highnes comand,” in *accounts, etc.*, (*Exchequer Q. R.*), B. 433, No. 8.

² *Supra*, 116.

If James had no more regard for the production of his own son, who had always been a favourite and whom he was at that moment recommending to the Spanish Ambassador, the chief guest of the evening, for a marriage alliance with Spain, it is scarcely to be expected that those who had no such claims upon him would fare better. The comments of the time show how Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones suffered for their share in the failure of this evening, and we have already traced the means through which they attempted to remedy the mistake.

Evidences of the manner in which James and his guests received dramatic productions might be many times multiplied, but these should be sufficient to indicate what path producers of literature were forced to follow.¹ Those who were astute readers of men and times did not need to suffer the embarrassment of the Cambridge men or of Ben Jonson. It was well known throughout the realm what were the likes and dislikes of the reigning sovereign and wise authors avoided or condemned the one while recommending the other. James's own article² on the subject as well as his prohibition of its use in the Court³ advertised widely his dislike for tobacco, which during his reign was growing into such popular favour as to have its own titular deity in literature, Kawasha, god of tobacco.⁴ James visited Oxford in company with the Queen and Prince in 1605, where he heard disputations on tobacco which

¹ Cf. *supra*, 124¹.

² See *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, supposed to have been written by James I.

³ "A proclamation to refrayne the takinge of Tobacco in y^e Co.," in *Lord Steward's Records Miscellaneous*, No. 226, 359.

⁴ See *Fortunate Isles, The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, and masques *passim*.

he very much approved. The students on that occasion played Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*, into which the poet inserted two pages on the pernicious effects of tobacco, apparently for the King's benefit.

It was early known that James was a serious advocate of peace and the masques of his reign are filled with references to the King in his capacity of peace-maker.¹ Scarcely a document, touching the personal life of James, has come down to us which does not mention the King's fondness for the chase.² The masques and other species of literature teem with praise of that pastime and of the sovereign in the capacity of hunter.³

A literary production which had for its patrons an audience like that of the Court of King James was not destined to be wholly satisfying from the point of view of literature. When the most important personage in the audience was the host of the evening, entertaining, as his guests, representatives of continental competitors whose chief duty on the occasion of a masque was to advertise the importance of their several countries by eliciting favours from their host and to watch every movement which would give indication of diplomatic policy; when the masquers themselves were members of the Royal family on the alert to pay diplomatic compliment where England most needed it; when the dramatic entertainment was preceded by a dinner, interrupted for refreshments, and closed with a banquet that was usually attacked with a boisterousness that

¹ See Samuel Daniel, *Masque of the Twelve Goddesses*, Ben Jonson *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, and the masques of Jonson, *passim*.

² Cf. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 106, *State Papers Miscellaneous, Domestic and Foreign*, B. 36.

³ Cf. Ben Jonson, *Works*, masques, *passim*.

overturned the tables and destroyed all the dishes,¹ an author could hardly hope for hard thinking, especially if the condition of the audience is to be judged by the

¹ See *supra*, 28.

Cf. also "The Prince's Creation was upon Monday laſt [4 June, 1610] . . . The next day was graced with a moſt glorious maſke, which was double. In the firſt, came firſt in the little Duke of Yorke between two great Sea ſlaves, the cheefeſt of Neptune's Servants, attended upon by twelve little Ladies, all of them the Daughters of Earls or Barons. By one of theſe men a ſpeech was made unto the King and Prince expreſſing the Concept of the maſke; by the other a ſword worth 20,000 crowns at the laeſt was put into the Duke of York's hands who preſented the ſame unto the Prince his Brother from the firſt of thoſe Ladies which were to follow in the next maſke. This done, the Duke returned into his former Place in midſt of the ſtage, and the little Ladies performed their dance to the amazement of all the Beholders, conſidering the tenderneſs of their years and the many intricate changes of the Dance, which was ſo diſpoſed that which way ſoever the changes went the little Duke was ſtill found to be in the midſt of theſe little Dancers. Theſe light Skirmiſhers having done their devoir in came the Princeſſes; firſt the Queen, next the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, then the Lady Arabella, the Counteſſes of Arundel, Derby, Effex, Dorſet and Montgomery, the Lady Hadington, the Lady Elizabeth Grey, the Lady Windſor, the Lady Katherine Peter, the Lady Elizabeth Guilford, and the Lady Mary Wintour. By that time theſe had done, it was high time to go to Bed, for it was within half an Hour of the Sun's not ſetting, but riſing: Howbeit a farther Time was to be ſpent in viewing and ſcrambling at one of the moſt magnificent Banquets that I have ſeen. The Ambaſſadors of Spaine, of Venice, and of the Low Countries were preſent at this and all the reſt of theſe glorious Sightſ, and in truth ſo they were." In Ralph Winwood, *Memorials* (1725), 180-1. *Cf.* also *supra*, *passim*.

But the English were not the only people open to censure for their manners at table. Lady Cobham writes home from Paris in 1580 and after describing a masque given in the Court she says: "then went the king vpe into an other goodly chamber, wher ſtood a great longe borde furniſhed wth a great number of bannketing diſhes veary cury-ouſly and cunningly wrought, in the ſame chamber ſtoode alſo a cubbard furniſhed wth chriſtall glaſſes ſett in goulde, ſo ſtrange and ſo many faſſions as I have nott ſene the lyke euery table had dyverce coverd paynes veary exelent and fynely wrought, the wich being taken of they fell to the bankett, ſome did eat and ſome did putt more into

amount of wine charged to "the kinges mouth"¹ and his behaviour on other occasions.²

From the perusal of the conditions of the Court socially and politically, it is not far to seek the reasons why the dramatic was the favourite form of literary entertainment and why of the dramatic the masque should be most popular. James's Court needed productions of strong dramatic effect, strengthened by historic allusions, songs and dancing, or masques in which the dazzling splendour of jewelled costumes and the intricate steps of the dance made highest bids for favour. It is not strange then that the masque should be composed of animated dialogue interspersed with surprises in the shape of the grotesque or the comic, brilliant spectacles and dance. Nor is it surprising

their pocketts than into their bellyes, so at the laste all was gone, then the king after the bankett was ended saluted the Imbasadaures and departed, the throng was so great that the king himselfe could not passe oute in a great while." In *State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth*, lxvii, 24.

¹ "Mr. Chancellour. I would be very glad for our better vnderstanding of some meanes to stay the rage of this expence, (especially in the Household), that you would command M^r. Fanchawes clerke, to give you an abstract of her ma^{tie} charge in the three last yeares and of the kinges in the three later yeares endinge at Michaelmas last wherein amonge other things, I desyre to know pticularly what hath been the quantitie of wyne of all sorts, w^{ch} I doe the rathe vppon this occasion because an officer of the Howse, did yesterday confels vnto me that there is allowed 60 tonnes only for the kinges mouth R. Salisb: [ury] 16 Sept. 1608." In *Lord Steward's Records Miscellaneous*, No. 30, 100.

² See *supra*, 116.

Cf. also "While he [James I] was drinking his eighth glass the Dutch Commissioners entered the hall and came one by one to kiss his Majesty's hand. He did not move or say anything but simply raised his hat from time to time, putting it on again at once," in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 558.

Allan B. Hinds, commenting on the above in *ibid.*, Introduction, xlvii, says, "He may not have felt equal to doing more, for he was at his eighth glass, and James liked his wines strong."

that occasions of unusual frivolity should have encouraged the anti-masque until it threatened to usurp the more serious production of which it was intended to be only an inferior part.

If to-day, when the courts of Europe have lost much of their central power, they still remain in many things models upon which those in the ranks base the propriety of their behaviour, it is not strange that the great masques of the Court during the reign of James produced masques and masquing occasions in great numbers among the nobles and men of great wealth below the Court.¹ When the King was to be entertained in the homes of noblemen, it was natural that the species of entertainment practised at the Court should be copied for his pleasure. There were occasions when James found his own means for entertainment insufficient; then he ordered his subjects to furnish him at their own cost.² Here again they naturally followed Court custom.

Crowds followed the magnificent processions which ushered the masquers to the Court, cheering and excited so that they almost crushed the masquers and guests and put the "whitestaves" to the test to save even the Royal family themselves from discomfort.³ But accommodations were so small and the masques so exclusive that on occasions like the presenting of *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, every one below a baron was excluded.⁴ Naturally all turned homeward full of the one topic of conversation, and the magnificent spectacle, denied them, came all the more

¹ Masques below the Court for political and social purposes are of sufficient number and of sufficient importance to warrant another volume. It is impossible to more than merely note their existence in the present discussion.

² See *supra*, 92.

³ Cf. *supra*, 28 also 76.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, 126.

to be desired, therefore members of the nobility, societies and people of great wealth, unable to see the Court masques, prepared masques for their own entertainment and the entertainment of their friends. Sometimes the King was invited or came of his own accord, sometimes a great ambassador or politician was the guest of honour, and often the masques were "tried out" before select little gatherings with the hopes that they would prove fitting for presentation before his Majesty later. But these masques were of course, in most cases, less costly than the Court masques, upon which they were modelled. However, they became so numerous that many houses sprang up in the city whose business it was to rent masquing costumes to those wishing to supply themselves with this kind of diversion.

While the Court masquers were provided with silks, satins, laces and jewels of almost fabulous price for such entertainments, while the Court masquers wore masquing attire made for the specific use of a given masque, costuming houses supplied imitations, some of which were of brown paper and starch, so poorly put together that if the masque called for strenuous activity or a heated condition of the body, they failed to last during the performance. One interesting occasion upon which this occurred, brought about a suit in the Court of Requests which seems of sufficient importance to include here since it gives information on the matter in hand not to be found elsewhere. In this suit John Stone of the Inner Temple appealed to King Charles I against a certain Francis Tippetsey, maker of masquing costumes, who arrested Mr. Stone while he was serving as "brydeman" at a great wedding because Mr. Stone had failed to pay the rent on some whiffing

suits and vizards which he had rented for the Inner Temple.

“John Stone of yo^r Ma^{ties} Innes of Co^{rt} comonly called the Inner Temple London” complains to King Charles I

that whereas in the moneth of December in the third yeare of youre Ma^{ties} most happie Raigne All the gentlemen and fellowes of the society of the Inner Temple aforelaid beinge then in Co^mons in the laid howse accordinge to a most laudable and ancient custome v^{sd} afwell in the laid Inner Temple as in all the rest of your Ma^{ties} Innes of Court with one vnanimous Consent did agree and resolue to haue a maske for the hono^r of the laid howse . . . one Frauncis Tippeffley of London being a maker of whiffing suits¹ and vizzards,

they asked him to rent them for the masque which he did, but John Stone complains that

the said vizzards were hastily made of browne paper and starch and other naughtie matterials whereby the same p^rfently melted away from of the gentlemens faces . . . many of the gentlemen that v^{sd} the same were defcovered and by reason therof the said maske was performed in a very diforderly manner for the whiffers that should haue kept forth diforderly company being knowne by reason theire vizzards fell from their faces and they thereby difcovered durst not nor could not keepe forth diforderly Company by reason whereof the said society were forced from other places to provide themselves with newe vizzards or else the said maske had vtterly fayled and the said whiffing suits were alsoe hastily made vpp . . . of very rotten and naughtie stuffe.

¹ The whiffers were generally pipers and horn-blowers who headed a procession and cleared the way for it. Anti-masques were usually ushered in by whiffers.

But Tippetessley arrested "your said subiect [Stone] in his Coach att a greate weddinge your said subiect being then a brydeman," wherefore Stone asks relief from the court.

Francis Tippetessley answers this complaint saying that he

beinge knowne . . . to be a dealer in making apparrell vizards & other furniture for making . . . by pfwading him that the laid make wold be very beneficial vnto him because the same was pmifed to be pformed att the Court before the King & the Queene laying furthur y^t things of y^t nature p^tented att court weare to be sumptuous & not much stood vpon for y^e charge because all y^e Benchers & Barresters weare alike ingaged wth y^e gentlemen

he was induced to

deliu' to him the laid Comptt forty & foure whiffing fuites & one hundred & foure vizards for one night . . . for eu'y such whiffing fuite for one night to be vfed three fhillings & for the vfe of eu'y vizard for y^t night also to be vfed & safely to be returned six pence . . .

and the complainant was to pay "for eu'y vizard y^t shold be loft broken spoiled or not redeliverd eighteen pence."

Tippetessley loaned to Stone "foure & forty whiffing fuites whearof some weare of Taffatie wrought wth silver some of taffatie laced wth copper lace some of ffugaretta & some of other stuffs," and the 104 vizards "weare of such & so good a making as others then about the towne weare."²

² In *Court of Requests Proceedings, Charles I*, Bundle 73, pt. iv.

Cf. also a bill filed in the Court of Requests 21 November of the Second of Charles I, by "John Bayliff vs Thomas Watfson, Edward Bythoppe esq, George Ruffell, William Stroude, Edward Gybbes, W^m Martine and George Blincoe, gentlemen." John Bayliff asks for relief, because John Watson sues him for thirty pounds more than the two hundred and fifty pounds already paid out by Bayliff for a masque performed by

So the masques and plays furnished a large part of the social entertainment of the Court and by example made them popular means of diversion in the city and realm, wherever there was sufficient money to pay the cost of such expensive entertainments.

Naturally in the masques below the Court, the same topics of interest, the same plots and the same characters were found as in the great masques. Being deprived however of the occasions which made the Court masques affairs of state, the rehearsals preceding and the influences surrounding had an eye upon the political and social rather than upon the diplomatic. These with their innumerable petty jealousies and gossip give us a most excellent picture of the life of the times, but they fail of the far-reaching influences of the great masques whose every detail became a topic for international concern.

But though the Court and the wealthy below the Court enjoyed this form of literary entertainment, the great mobs who gazed in curiosity upon the grand spectacular processions which escorted the masquers through the streets of London and who heard all sorts of comment concerning the splendour of the entertainment within,² had no opportunity for seeing Court

the above gentlemen of the Middle Temple "in the time of Christenmasse aboute fixe yeares" before the filing of the present suit. John Bayliff asserts that two hundred and fifty pounds was all the gentlemen gave him to pay out for them and therefore he refuses further payment. See *Court of Requests, Charles I*, B. 70, p. ii.

² "The v day of August the Queen[s] grace removyd from Eltham unto Non-Shyche, my lord of Arundell[s] and ther her grace had as gret cher evere nyght and bankettes; but the sonday at nyght my lord of Arundell[s] howse mad her a grett bankett at ys cost, the wyche kyng Henry the viij byldyd, as ever was sene, for soper, bankett, and maske, with drumes and flutes, and all the mysyke that cold be tyll mydnyght; and as for chere has nott bene sene nor hard."—Henry Machyn, *The Diary of, from 1550 to 1563*, (1848) 206.

masques or others. The masque was of necessity too expensive for the masses. This may have been one important reason for the number of masques injected into plays produced in the public theatres of the time. Here, for a comparatively small fee, all who were unable to get other idea of masquing affairs were given the only indication they could get of what such occasions were like. If we can judge from the dramatic effect upon a modern audience of such magnificent spectacular masques as that injected into *Henry VIII*, we may perhaps guess at the interest of Shakespeare's audiences who were so much nearer the occasion and who were roused to such a pitch of curiosity by the advertising.

The last word concerning the effect of all this popular dramatic exploitation upon the plays and playwrights of the public theatres will not be said for many a day. These plays, into many of which masques were injected, discussed the same topics and met many of the same difficulties of the big Court masques. Naturally a topic of interesting international speculation or of national prejudice held a public audience with somewhat of the same interest that it held the Court. We have noticed two such in the preceding chapters; one in which the irritation between England and France expressed itself through ridicule of France on the London stage,¹ and the other which voiced similarly England's feelings toward Spain after James's failure to secure a marriage alliance.²

So, too, topics of more local interest found expression. In 1619-20, when Suffolk and his wife were charged with "extortion conculsion & oppression besides bribarie & false dealing," and when the Lord of Wallingford

¹ See *supra*, 45.

² *Supra*, 136.

“was retired by the King because he was altogether guided and overruled by an arch-wife,” women’s behaviour became a topic for such wide comment that “our pulpits ring continually of the infolence and impudence of women, and to helpe the matter forward the players haue likewise taken them to taske and so to the ballades and ballad-fingers, so that they can come nowhere but theyre eares tingle, and yf all this will not serue the King threatens to fall vpon theyre hufbands parents or frends that haue or should haue powre ouer them and make them pay for yt.”¹

As in the masques, the question of religion provoked comment, because of the manner in which it was treated in the plays. In 1622–3 the Spanish Ambassador and an ambassador from the “Archduchefse” were unable to attend a play at Cambridge because “the argument of yt confisted cheifly of a Jesuite and a puritan.”²

A Venetian complains earlier that

the English deride our religion as detestable and superstitious and never represent any theatrical piece, not even a satirical tragi-comedy without larding it with the vices and iniquity of some Catholic churchman, which move them to laughter and much mockery, to their own

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 Feb., 1619–20, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, cxii, No. 82.

² “The Spanish ambafador together wth him that came from the Archduchefse came from Cambrige on funday . . . they lodged at trienitie college where they were inuited to a play, but beeing made acquainted before hand (for feare of offence) that the argument of yt confisted cheifly of a Jesuite and a puritan, they wold not aduenture.” Chamberlain to Carleton, 8 March, 1622–3, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, cxxxix, No. 64.

It is interesting to note how many plays, masques and sports of all kinds were enjoyed on Sunday, as also how many important political meetings, audiences of ambassadors, meetings of the Council, etc. See *Court Masques passim*.

satisfaction and to the regret of the good (*Prendono giuoco al' Inglesi della nostra religione come di cosa detestabile et superstiziosa ne mai rappresentano qualsivoglia attione publica sia pure Tragisatiricomedia che non inserischino dentro vitii et scelleraggini di qualche religioso Catolico, facendone risatii et molto scherzi, con lor gusto et ramarico de' buoni*). On one occasion my colleagues of the Embassy saw a comedy performed in which a Franciscan friar was introduced, cunning and replete with impiety of various shades including avarice and lust. The whole was made to end in a tragedy, the friar being beheaded on the stage. Another time they represented the pomp of a Cardinal in his identical robes of state, very handsome and costly, and accompanied by his attendants, with an altar raised on the stage, where he pretended to perform service, ordering a procession. He then re-appeared familiarly with a concubine in public. He played the part of administering poison to his sister upon a point of honour, and, moreover, of going into battle, having first gravely deposited his Cardinal's robes on the altar through the agency of his chaplains. Last of all, he had himself girded with a sword and put on his scarf with the best imaginable grace. All this they do in derision of ecclesiastical pomp which in this kingdom is scorned and hated mortally.¹

Piero Contarini in his *Relation of England* notes:

With regard to his majesty's relations with foreign states, in Italy he does not enjoy close friendship with any one except your Serenity and the Duke of Savoy. During the last disturbances he was always sending ministers there and always showed the greatest friendliness, intending not only to declare in his favour against the Spaniards, but promising him help. There is mortal hatred against the pope on the score of religion, and anyone who opposes the apostolic see can always count upon help from England.

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 134.

In their theatres and public comedies they constantly speak of the papacy with contempt and derision, and they never lose an opportunity of speaking slanderously about it.¹

As with religion, so with other topics. On one occasion Nethersole got into trouble for calling the Prince "Jacobisims Carole"² and at another time the lawyers became so infuriated over the ridicule of their profession in a play given by the University of Cambridge that they stirred up comment all over London.³

The diplomatic, political and social status of masques and plays gave actors and playwrights unusual opportunity for knowing and voicing the life of the Court. During the progress of an important diplomatic function such as the signing of an international treaty, the ambassadors extraordinary sent to England for the

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 421.

Cf. also State Papers Domestic, James I, lxxvii, No. 58; also *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, cci, 375.

² See *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxx, No. 51.

³ "My very goode Lord:

" . . . on faterday last the king went again to Cambrige to see the play Ignoramus w^{ch} hath fo nettled the lawiers that they are almost out of patience and the L' cheife Justice both openly at the ks bench and diuers other places hath galled and glaunched at schollers wth much bitternes, and there be diuers ynne of court men haue made rimes and ballades against them w^{ch} they have aunfwered sharply enough; and to fay truth yt was a scandall rather taken then geuen, for what profesfion is t[h]ere [wherein] some particular peop[le] may not be iustly taxed wth out imputation to the whole but yt is an old fayeng confims ipse fibi, and they are too partial to thincke themfelues fo faenfancti that they may not be touched. The king had a Latin fermon on sonday and difputations on monday before his comming away. . . .

"from London this 20th of May 1615

"yo^r L^{ps} to commaund

" John Chamberlain."

In *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxx, No. 102.

Cf. also ibid., No. 51.

occasion were not only entertained with masques of such elaborateness as to be the occasion for comment everywhere, but their lesser moments were occupied with lesser forms of entertainment. Besides dinners of great cost and dignity, various games, the chase, etc., plays were given in their honour and when the importance of the negotiations warranted, all the most prominent players in the city were called in from the public theatres or even from provincial tours in the country and placed in attendance upon the important visitors in the sumptuous castles provided for them.¹ Being thus used as instruments of the state for diplomatic ends, players and authors became easily familiar with the customs of the countries whose ambassadors they were entertaining not only in the persons of the ambassadors themselves but of their countrymen of lower rank, who usually to the number of two hundred to six hundred accompanied such envoys extraordinary.² Shakespeare was so used on at least one occasion to entertain three Spanish and three Austrian commissioners for the treaty of 1604.³ From such occasions playwrights who were keen students of character and conditions had enviable opportunity for gathering knowledge of political and social conditions surrounding the English Court.

But much as Shakespeare and his fellows may have learned from their attendance upon ambassadors, they had even greater opportunities for knowledge of Court conditions from the great diplomatic masques themselves. The masquers were, as we have seen, members

¹ See *supra*, 141¹.

² "This night about six of the clock he comes vp by water to Somers-fet-steares. His whole trayne is 220." Carleton to Chamberlain, 10 August, 1604, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, ix, No. 8.

³ See *supra*, ch. v, also frontispiece.

of the Royal family and men and women in highest office and official position about the King. They were necessarily amateurs in the art of acting. We find them therefore in constant communication with all the important players of the city when they were practising for such presentations. We have already noted the great diplomatic masque of 1618 which announced to the world England's decision in favour of a marriage alliance with Spain with its disastrous results in breaking off diplomatic relations between England and France. Such occasions were too important to neglect any means for success, so we find Charles summoning "Mr. Johnson the poet" from "Blackfriars" for consultations at "Whithalle."¹ He was also in frequent intercourse with his own players,² with "grayefin,"

¹"Thomas Knyuett ordinary Groome of the Prince his highnes chamber being sent by the Comaundem^t of S^r Robert Cary Knight Chamberlaine to the Prince his highnes from Newmarkett to Chelsey parke to S^r John Cotton to seeke M^r Eliott to warne him to attend the Prince wth his hawke after dinner. Also another time sent by M^r Gray from White hall to Blackfriars to M^r Johnson the Poet to come to the Prince ffor w^{ch} severall services hee prayeth to haue allowance for his paines and charge of his horfe and his botehire too and fro and to be rated by the honorable S^r Robert Cary Knight Chamberlaine to his highnes, and paid by the wor^d M^r Adam Newton Receuio^r generall of his highnes Treasure iiij^s."

"Ro: cary
"Alexander"

In *Exchequer of Receipt Miscellaneous*, cccxlviij. Cf. also "Thomas Henn one of the ordinarie groomes of the Prynces chamber beinge sent in his highnes service . . . from Whithalle to Black fryers with a messuage to Benn Johnfon," etc. *Ibid.*

²"Henry Prefcot one of the ordinarye groomes of the Prynces chamber beinge sente oute in his highnes seruice by the comaundm^t of M^r Younge gent. vther dailie waiter to his highnes from his highnes courte at S^t Jameffes to Greenwich with a messuage to the keeper of the Armorye and alsoe one other message from S^t Jamefes to the Prynces players and alsoe one other messuage from thence to the Kings players which seruices beinge done he returned with answeres to the court aforesaid." *Ibid.*

and more especially with Shakespeare's company, the "King's players,"¹ and others in "Blackfryers," and with the manager of Shakespeare's company, "heminges the player" in "Wodftrete."² Here was an unparalleled opportunity for gaining knowledge of men and conditions. When an author of plays had under his tutelage the Secretary of State, the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, etc., every man in highest power and social privilege of the realm, he would needs be dull indeed if he could not garner all the fruits of knowledge of what conditions he chose from the occasion.

But if he still lacked opportunity for knowledge, there was another means of no small significance provided by the masques. The royal and noble masquers were seldom required to do more than appear in beautiful gowns and to dance well—the latter was always required. The speaking, singing and all else that went to

¹"Bennett Kibble one of the ordinary groomes of the Princes chamber beinge sent of the Princes servise . . . from the Princes Court att S^t Jamyes wth a messuag to Blackfryers to the Kinges Players," etc. In *Exchequer of Receipt Miscellaneous*, cccxlvi.

"John Drew one of the ordinary groomes of the Prynces highnes chamber beinge sent in his highnes servise . . . from his highnes court at Saintiameses to Blackfriers with a messuage to the kinges players which servise beinge don he returned with anfwere to the court aforefaid," etc. *Ibid.*

²"Thomas Henn one of the gromes in ordinary to the prince beinge sente by the comande of M^r Peter Younge gent vther daly water to the princis highnes of one mesage from S^t James to the blackfryers allfo one other mesage from Whithall to grayefin allfo one other mesage from S^t James to wodftrete to heminges the player allfo one other mesage from S^t James to Blackfryers and so Returned with awnfwere to thes feverall mesages fowre feverall dayes for which servise he craveth allowance for himselfe his botehire paynes and chargis to and frow to be rated by the hon^{bl} S^r Robart Cary knight chamberlane to the princis highnes and to be payd by the worshopfull M^r Adam Newton Receaver genorall of his highnes Treasore." *Ibid.*

make up the more difficult part of the entertainment were given over to professionals from the theatres who were employed for the evening. Many times a masque followed a play on the same evening and possibly those who were already in attendance spoke the lines required in the masque. At any rate the fact that Shakespeare and his fellows from the public theatres were employed to entertain ambassadors, to school royalty and nobility in the player's art, and to take part with them in the masques which were among the most splendid entertainments of the time, besides placing these players on a most enviable plane socially, opens up for us a vast field for speculation as to the effect that all these may have had upon the makers of drama proper and its production in the public theatres.

Is it strange should we wonder if a man like Shakespeare who wore the livery of the King's Household in two capacities, that of the "King's players" and "Groom of the King's Chamber," who was paid for marching in coronation and funeral processions, who belonged to the company of actors paid out of the public treasury or the King's purse to entertain ambassadors and royal envoys to England, who wrote and acted for the King's amusement, who schooled and assisted royalty and nobility in the preparation and presentation of private theatricals, and who was a member of one of the biggest theatre trusts in London—is it too much to wonder if such a man when he was creating kings, queens and nobles in his plays could or would exclude all the impressions made upon him by the royalty, nobility and foreigners among whom he moved?

We know that when kings and queens were presented by masquers, the costumes were most luxurious. We know that kings and queens were presented before the

Court by Shakespeare's company and others from the public theatres on the same evening and in the same rooms with many of the same magnificent devices prepared for the same audience who were ready to listen to the masque which followed, and we naturally ask how the actor kings and queens compared in costumes and surroundings with the real kings and queens who were spectators and with the queens and princes impersonated by the real queen and princes in the masque following.

Is it strange then if we question whether this same Shakespeare who had spent an evening in the Court entertaining his Majesty's guests in halls provided with extravagant scenery and costume could have gone back to his own theatre on the same day or the day following and could there have entertained many of the same nobles in a house devoid, as we have been led to suppose,¹ of all the equipment of the extravagant Court from which he had just come? Or is it easier to believe that the audiences accustomed as they were to all the magnificence and splendour of the Jacobean masque and who made up a part of the audiences of the public theatres would patronise such barren conditions on the public stage? In fact the Italian Busino in commenting on public theatre audiences notes that they "dress grandly and in colours, so that they all seem (were it possible), more like princes, or rather comedians." Now one needs only to examine the wardrobe accounts of the Royal family to discover what was the dress of princes.² The English Court, in which a different costume was required for each day, was at the time the talk of the world for its extravagant dress,

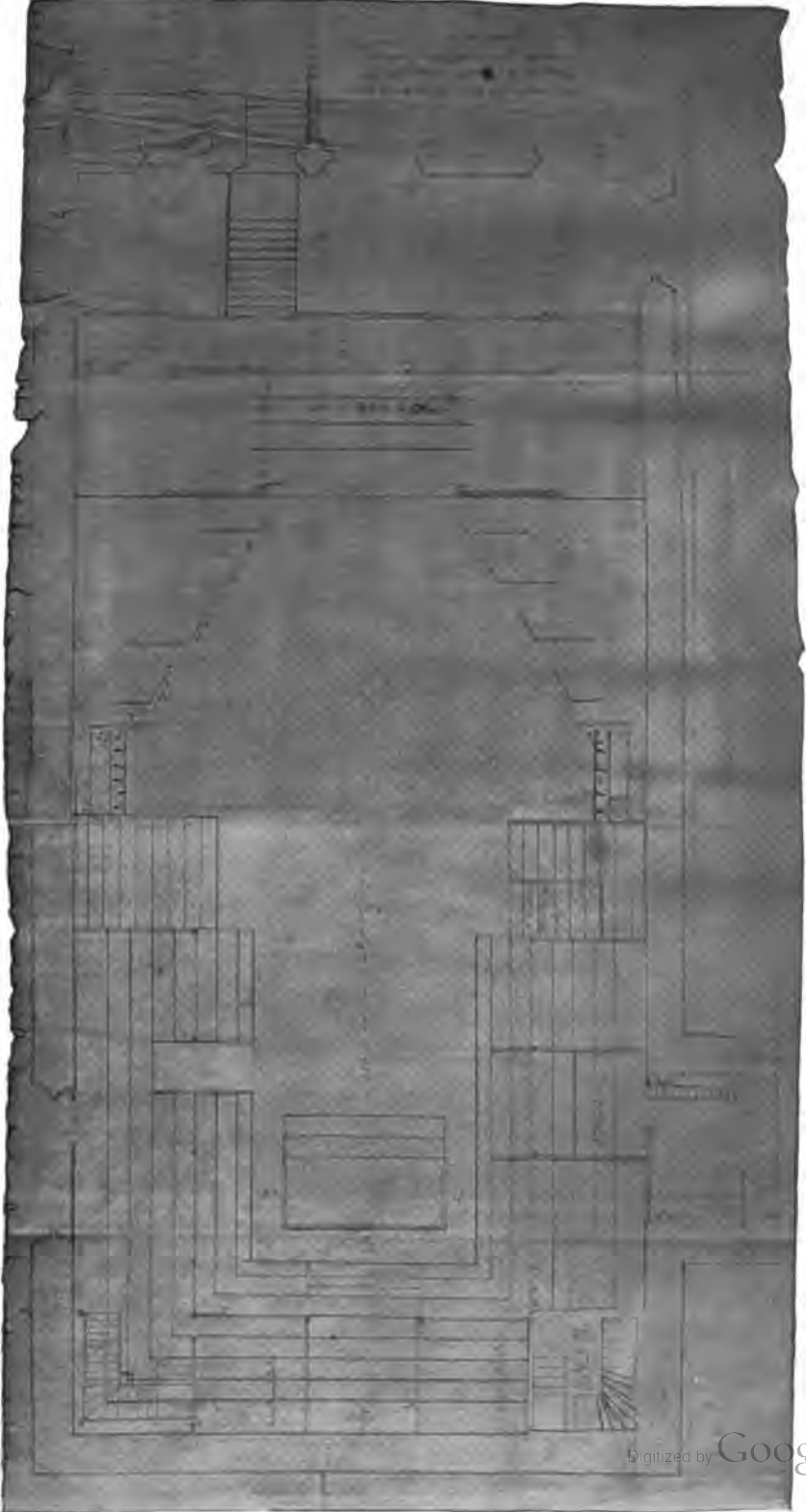
¹ See Sidney Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare* (1899), 39 note.

² Cf. Department of Lord Chamberlain, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 127, 304 *et passim*.

and by comparison with these we should be able to judge what must have been the dress of actors if they were dressed better.

There is still much uncertainty concerning the frequent appearance and social position of women actors on the public stage during the Jacobean reign. It may be worth while to suggest the query as to what was the influence upon the public stage of having such women as the beautiful and graceful Queen Anne, her daughter Elizabeth and the noblewomen of the Court taking the parts of women in the private theatricals in the Court. How would audiences accustomed to such actresses accept the interpretation of the same or similar parts given by boys? Or how would Shakespeare and his fellows who watched and acted with such actresses be pleased with a boy's interpretation of an Imogen, a Portia, or a Juliet? What influence did such presentations have on the final acceptance of women actors in public theatres?

Similar queries force themselves upon us concerning the public stage. On the opposite page will be found a photograph of one of the plans made by Inigo Jones for a masquing performance in Whitehall. If the reader will take the trouble to compare this plan with the plans for the Fortune and the Blackfriars theatres by C. W. Wallace in *Nebraska University Studies* (April-July, 1908), 50, or with any other reliable plans for the public theatres of Shakespeare's day, he will note that after the removal of the platform upon which the royal "state" was placed for the accommodation of the King and his ambassador guests, the remainder of the house conforms with remarkable similarity to the plans for the stage and for the seating of audiences in the public theatres.



Photograph of Inigo Jones's plan for the production of Florimène in the hall at Whitehall, December 23, 1635.
For original see *Lansdowne MS.* 1171 in British Museum.

We find the stage at one end of the hall with a carpeted space in front for the dances of the brilliantly dressed masquers and those of the audience whom they favoured with an invitation to be their partners. All about the three sides of the room were the boxes of the embassies and important nobles; above these, balconies or "scaffolds," where sometimes partitions were necessary to keep the invited foreigners from engaging in fistic disputes during the performance. In the centre of the hall, the point of interest toward which the eyes of all the audience and of the masquers were turned, on a raised platform, under a splendid gold-embroidered canopy between the stools for the ambassador guests, was the bedecked and bejewelled James in his chair of state.

A few comments of contemporary writers may help to enliven the picture. Busino remarks:

Whilst waiting for the king we amused ourselves by admiring the decorations and beauty of the house with its two orders of columns, one above the other, their distance from the wall equalling the breadth of the passage, that of the second row being upheld by Doric pillars, while above these rise Ionic columns supporting the roof. The whole is of wood, including even the shafts, which are carved and gilt with much skill. From the roof of these hang festoons and angels in relief with two rows of lights.²

Campion describes another occasion as follows:

The greate Hall (wherein the Maske was presented) receiued this diuision, and order: The vpper part where the cloth & chaire of State were plac't, had scaffoldes and feates on eyther fide continued to the skreene; right before it

² In *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 111.

was made a partition for the dauncing place; on the right hand whereof were conforted ten Mufitions, with Baffe and Meane Lutes, a Bandora, a double Sack-bott, and an Harpficord, with two treble Violins; on the other fide fomewhat neerer the skreene were plac't 9 Violins and three Lutes, and to anfwere both the conforts (as it were in a triangle) fixe Cornets and fixe chappell voyces, were feated almoft right againft them, in a place raifed higher in respect of the pearcing found of thofe Instruments: eighteen foote from the skreen, on another stage was raifed higher by a yearde then that which was prepared for dancing: This higher stage was all enclosed with a double vale, fo artificially painted, that it feemed as if darke cloudes had hung before it: within that fhrowde was concealed a greene valley, with greene trees round about it and in the midft of them nine golden trees of fifteene foot high with armes and braunches very glorious to behold: From the which groue toward the State was made a broade defcent to the dauncing place, iuft in the midft of it; on either hand were two afcents, like the fides of two hilles, drest with fhrubbes and trees; that on the right hand leading to the bowre of *Flora*: the other to the houfe of *night*; which bowre and houfe were plac't oppofite at either end of the skrene and betweene them both was raifed a hill, hanging like a cliff ouer the groue belowe and on the top of it a goodly large tree was fet, fuppofed to be the tree of Diana; behind the which toward the window was a fmall defcent, with an other fpreading hill that climed vp to the toppe of the window, with many trees on the height of it, whereby thofe that played on Hoboyes at the Kings entrance into the hall were fhadowed: The bowre of *Flora* was very fpacious, garnifht with all kind of flowers, and flowrie branches with lights in them; the houfe of *night* ample and ftately, with blacke pillars, whereon many starres of gold were fixt: within it when it was emptie, appeared nothing but cloudes and ftarres, and on the top of it ftood three Turrets vnderpropt with fmall blacke ftarred pillers, the middlemoft

being highest and greatest, the other two of equal proportion: about it were plac't on wyer artificial Battes, and Owels, continually mouing: with many other inuentions; the which for breuite sakes I passe by with silence.¹

Girolamo Lando reports on 17 January, 1619-20, that the Prince's masque just recently produced "lasted more than three hours."² We remember that on another occasion the Venetian Ambassador testified that the disgruntled "Duke of Holst" stood up the three hours which the masque and "*ballo*" lasted³ and Busino chronicles the fact that *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* gave continuous entertainment from "the sixth hour of the night" until half-past two in the morning. On many other occasions it was "within half an Hour of the Sun's not setting but rising"⁴ before the

¹ Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske Presented before the Kings Maiestie, at White-Hall on Twelfth Night last, in honour of the Lord Hayes and his Bride* (1607), A 4.

Cf. also Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James the First* (1848), I, 42.

Cf. also "makinge readie the hall & greete chamber for playes and shewes at divers tymes . . . framinge and settinge vpp of a greate stage in the banquettinge house xl foote square and iiij^{oo} foote in heighte wth wheeles to goe on, makinge and settinge vpp twoe ptycofs there xlvij foote longe the pece wth a retourne at one ende, framinge and settinge vpp of an other stage, a greate halpace and degrees in the faide banquettinge house for people to sitt on to see maskes & shewes before the King and Quene wth paintinge the rooffe overhede wth clowdes and other devyces," in Audit Office, *Works*, B. 2418, R. 37, a Bill presented 5 Apr., 1608, for works at . . . Whitehall.

² See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xvi, 138.

³ See *supra*, 24.

⁴ See *supra*, 168.

Cf. also, "Oxfords Triumph, In the Royall entertainment of his moste Excellent Maiestie, the Queene, and the Prince: the 27 of August last 1605.

"vpon Tuesday the 27 of august . . .

"After Supper his Majestie, the Queene, and Prince, with the Noblemen, had a Comedie played before them in Latine in Christ-Church Hall, which continued the space of three houres and more" (B. 3).

merry revellers dispersed, though most of the masques cover but a few pages of print.¹ The dances of the anti-masquers, which were varied and numerous, followed by the dance of the masquers alone, probably consumed much time. Just how much or what part of the night was consumed by the final dance of the masquers and their partners from the audience is not yet known. Nor have we so far any means of discovering just how King James, who seems never to have danced, spent all the hours of the long evening, nor what other diversion, if any, held the remainder of the audience who were neither masquers nor partners in the dance.

The present treatment makes no claim to answering all the queries raised with the many more that might be raised. The world must await with patience the result of the diligent research which will some day enable us to know more of the theatres in which Shakespeare played and the audiences who listened to him. If the present effort has thrown a single ray of light upon the surroundings of the great literary artist whose name is for ever linked to the time of Elizabeth and James I, or if it has even raised a question which will lead to the discovery of any real truth, however small, concerning Shakespeare's time, it has done its work.

"Vpon Wednesday at night after supper, there was a Tragedie set out by Magdalen Colledge men, acted before his Majestie in Chriff-Church Hall, which was verie long, for it continued from nine till one of the clocke, the subiect whereof was Aiax and vlises. But the device was so coftly and curious in fetting the fame foorth, that it was not thought tedious, but the King showed himselfe verie well pleased, and content with it."

¹It does n't seem likely that the masques presented in the court on the same evening as a play could have been so lengthy.

Appendix

Appendix

I

"I wrote to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis' [the Spanish Ambassador] audience; it remaineth to tell how jovially he behaveth himself in the interim. He hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hawk's hoods, leather for jerkins, and moreover a perfumer; these delicacies he bestoweth amongst our Lords and Ladies, I will not say with a hope to effeminate the one sex, but certainly with a hope to grow gracious with the other, as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many Ladies and gentlewomen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford his abiding place; which he, desirous to satisfy (I will not say nourish the vice) made his coach stay, and took occasion with petty gifts and courtesies to win soon won affections; who accompanying his manner with Monsieur de Rosy's [M. Rosny, French Ambassador Extraordinary] hold him their far welcome guest." Lady Arabella Stuart to Shrewsbury, 16 September (O. S. 6) 1603, in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations*, iii, 26.

2

"But I should before have mentioned the Presents which I made in England in the name of his most Christian Majesty [King Henry IV]. That to King James was six fine horses richly caparisoned; to which Henry also added another Gift, which ought to be esteemed still more considerable: this was the person of Saint-Anthony, in all respects the best and most compleat horseman of the Age. That to the Queen of England was a large and most beautiful Venetian Glass, the Golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the Prince of Wales, was a Golden Lance and Helmet, also enriched with diamonds; a fencing-master and a vaulter. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Northumberland, in a word all those whom I have occasionally mentioned besides some others, were presented, some with Boxes, and others with Buttons, caps of Feathers, Rings, and chains of Gold and Diamonds: Several Ladies also received Rings and Pearl Necklaces. The value of all these presents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left

with Beaumont, to be distributed in certain places amounted to sixty thousand crowns. Henry's views in making so many rich Presents, a considerable part of which were even continued as pensions, to some English Lords were to retain them and attach them more strongly in his interests." Duke of Sulley, *Memoirs*, (printed in Dublin, 1757), 198-9.

"I rendered his British Majesty my thanks in a second Letter: and to employ all sorts of counter-Batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their Presents: we imitated them in this respect, and even gave Pensions to all the most distinguished Persons in the Court of King James." *Ibid.*, 211. Cf. also *supra*, 4.

3

"On Newyeares night we had a play of Robin goode-fellow and a maske brought in by a magician of China. There was a heaven built at the lower end of the hall owt of w^{ch} our magician came downe and after he had made a long sleepey speech to the K: of the nature of the cuntry from whence he came comparing it wth owrs for strength and plenty, he sayde he had broughte in cloudes certain Indian and China Knights to see the magnificency of this court. and theruppon a trauers was drawne and the maskers seen fitting in a voutly place wth theyr torchbearers and other lights w^{ch} was no vupleasing spectacle. The maskers were brought in by two boyes and two musitiens who began wth a song and whilst that went forward they presented themselves to the k: The first gave the k: an Impresa in a shield wth a sonet in a paper to expresse his deuice and presented a Jewell of 40,000.£ valew w^{ch} the K: is to buy of Peter Van Lore, but that is more than euery man knew and it made a faire shew to the French Ambassadors eye whose master would have bin well pleased with such a maskers present but not at that prife. The rest in theyr order deliuered theyr scutchins wth letters and there was no great stay at any of them saue onely at one who was putt to the interpretaõ of his deuife. It was a faire horse colt in a faire greene field w^{ch} he meant to be a colt of Bufephalus race and had this vertu of his fire that none could mount him but one as great at lest as Alexander. The k: made himself merry wth threatening to fend this colt to the stable and he could not breake loofe till he promised to dance as well as Bankes his horse. The first measure was full of changes and seemed confused but was well gone through wth all, and for the ordinary measures they tooke owt the Q: &c." Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, No. 21.

4

"Sire;

"Et d'autant que le soir auparavant jl m'avoit fait l'honneur de m'inviter au Dimanche à Souper avec luy en privé dans sa chambre,

et que j'avois differé de luy promettre jusques a ceque je luy eusse fait entendre le sujet qui me tenoit en suspens, je luy dis que m'appercevant bien de l'artifice de quel ques vns de sa cour pousser et gagner de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne qui luy avoient conseillé sous couleur de préeminence mal fondé de me prier pour voir le premier Ballet à fin que plus Justement ils luy reservassent la place en celuy de la Reine qui se devoit danser au vendredy dernier jour des festes de Noël selon la facon d'ang^e et le plus honorable tout pour la cérémonie qui l'y obserue de tout temps publiquement." Letter from M. Beaumont to the French King, 13 January, 1604, in British Museum, Manuscript Room, *Kings MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 675.

5

"Je luy envoiay le Sieur de Platteville auquel jl [Jas. I] promit en mon nom avec vne extrême franchise ceque depuis lapresdinee jl me confirma à moy même, lorsque luy déclarant comme je ne pouvois souffrir destre exclus par led^t ambassad^r et le grand jntérêt que j'avois pour la reputation de vôtre majesté à ne luy laisser prendre aucun avantage Sur moy, jl m'assura qu'il avoit le matin expressm^t pour ce sujet demandé à la Reine si elle étoit point engagé de promesse avec luy, et que led^t Dame ayant repondu que non mais que feulement led^t ambassadeur luy avoit fait tesmoigner vn extrême desir de voir son Ballet, alors il lavoit prieé dene luy point promettre davantage qu'il étoit aussi malaisé que luy et moy y fussions ensemble comme il jugeoit peut seant et raisonnable de mén esconduire pour les considérations que je luy avois raportées neanmoins afin que la Reine eut lemême sujet de féxcuser de son costé qu'il me conseilloit de l'en requérir par courtoisie a quoy je consenty volontiers mais avec cette condition que de rechef il me donneroit Sa parole D'autant que pour suivant cette chose par droit et non par faveur je ne me pouvois avec mon honneur mettre au hazard en estant refusé par la Reine d'en estre esconduit par luy et perdre mon Rang ainsy il me promit denouveau, et fur sa promesse, je priay la Reine laquelle ne voulant ni rejeter ni accorder ma demande me dit assez jndifferemment qu'elle l'en remettoit à la volonté du Roy, ceque luy ayant depuis raporté il me réitera encore de rechef Sa parole et m'assura que si l'ambassadeur d'Espagne venoit à le prier a près moy détre aud^t Ballet de la Reine qu'il luy laisseroit la liberté de S'ytrouver, Sur quoy je luy dis qu'encore que je ne doutasse point qua l'exemple des autres Ministres d'Espagne qui navoent jamais disputé a Rome la preeminence qu'en fuyant jl sexcuseroit plutôt que de comparoistre, Que neantmoins fil étoit si outre cuidé al'Espagnol que derien pretendre en cette rencontre Sur ma place que je le tuerois à Ses pieds au hazard de ma vie, De Sorte que je partis le dit Jour du Dimanche au soir avec cette assurance Laquelle je garday jusque au mercreddy XV^e [N. S.]

ensuivant que le Sieur Cecil m'ayant convié à souper en presence des Sieurs Admiral Comte de Suffoc comte de Neucher et Millord Henry hannard me declara que le Roy estoit a grand perplexité d'autant qu'il scavoit la promesse qu'il m'avoit faite. Et que d'ailleurs la Reine protestoit dene vouloir danser son Ballet que l'ambassadeur d'Espagne n'y fût présent, laquelle elle S'estoit secrettement engagée de parole." Beaumont to Henry IV, 23 January, 1604 (N. S.) *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

6

"je me suis résolu de ma part continuer avec le Roy et eux la même façon de vivre que j'ay fait jusques j'cy Dimanche dernier L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne fut au Ballet de la Reine selon son desir et souper avec le Roy en sa chambre contre la promesse qu'il m'avoit donne du contraire ceque vous ajouterez s'il vous plaist a l'histoire jl estoit vetu de rouge et dansa la gaillarde fort gaiement en jeune homme de vingt ans aussy en avoitil fubit, car la feste le faisant pour luy et la Reine portait en sa faveur vne escharpe et vne banderolle rouge ainsy qui morisset vous contera qui y fut present et lequel fur cette occasion j'ay pris la liberté sous vôte faveur de gratifier de ce voiage vous fupliant de la meme renvoyer au plutost et me mandre par luy si lors que le Sieur Danna sera arrivé je donneray le portrait de la Reine car vù ceque s'est passé, je me résout d'attendre la volonté de sad^e majesté." Letter of Beaumont to Villeroy, 23 Jan., 1604/5 in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 720.

7

"Et certe je ne doute aucunement de son [James I] inclination et bonne fay jaçoit que je sois averty de divers endrois que je ne m'y dois pas fier a laenir comme j'ay en occasion de faire cy devant pour l' autorité et puissance qu'ont les Espagnols Sur ses volontez Lesquels ballacent clairement du costé d'Espagne comme vous avez epruvé enla journée du Ballet de la Reine Laquelle s'est tant declarée et engagée en cette occasion que je dois dovénavant non feulement tenir ses vœux pour suspects, Mais aussy desirer que Son autorité et puissance Soit contrepoisée et refrenée par la prudence de son Mary et de ceux qui vraiment affectionnent sa prosperité." King Henry IV to Beaumont, 2.^e fevrier, 1604, in *King's MSS.*, 124, f. 728.

8

"Me prométant Quand toute l'angleterre et l'ecosse seroient con-jurez et bandez pour nous desunir qu'il ne permettra jamais que cela advienne, Monstrez luy aussy que j'ay bien pris le traitement et l'honneur qu'il vous a fait le jour des Rois sans faire paroistre aucun

ressentiment de n'avoir assisté au Ballet ou bien ne luy parlez plus du tout ni aux siens de ce qui s'est passé si vous jugez qu'il soit plus a propos." *Ibid.*, f. 730.

9

"Ce que vous avez a faire est de contenuer de vous tenir le plus près de ce Prince que vous pourrez, et si vous jugez qu'il en soit capable et ne puissiez remettre l'esprit de la Reine luy donner doucement jalousie de son Intelligence avec lez Espagnols et leurs adherans afin de luy ouvrir les yeux et luy faire reconnoistre et appréhender les inconveniens qui en peuvent arriver à sa personne à sa réputation et a son etat"—*Ibid.*, f. 736—Villeroy to Beaumont, 2 Feb., 1604.

10

"2 maskes were famous th'one acted by noble and principall men on New Yeares daye, th'other by the Queene and 11 honorable Ladyes the foday after twelfe daye. The French Ambassador was prefent at the first and the Spanish folemply invited come to the second albeit much against the french his will who labored all he coulde to have crossed hym. All the ambassadors were feasted at Courte this Xptñas first the Spanish and Sauoyan 2 the french and florentine 3 the Poloman and Venetian and all highly pleased but the French who is malecontent to see the Spaniard fo kyndly vsed, and it is plainly perceaued that he and the florentine and in some sort the Venetian labour all they can vnderhand to diueste vs from makinge Pease wth Spaine and for that purpose the Duke of florenze maketh overture of a marriage for our Prince wth a daughter and a million in dowrye, but if money may suffice it is deemed the Kinge of Spaine will double or treble the million wth a daughter of Sauoy fo as other good condicons may be concluded for reducing the Hollanders to obedience and ease of the Catholics at home." *Letter of Ortellio Renzo*, 31 Jan., 1603, O. S., *State Papers Domestic*, James I, vi, No. 37. "alors il me repartit derechef qu'il luy sembloit que au me faire tort je pouvois me trouver au Ballet de la Reine avec l'ambassad: d'Espagne au Rang ni cérémonie estans tour deux comme jnconnus et que jaurais de mon costé celuy de Florence et luy celuy de Savoie." Beaumont to Henry IV, 23 Jan., 1604, [N. S.,] *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

11

"Monsieur:—

Il y à quelques jours qu'il m'envoya dire sur ce que Monsieur L'ambassadeur d'Espagne l'avoit prie de luy permettre de voir vn ballet qui se faisoit le jour des nœces du S: Philippe Hebbert; que si j'y voulois venir jnconnu, et non comme Ambassadeur, qu'il donneroit ordre que j'y aurois vne bonne place, mais comme je trouvoy cette sermonce fort

inciville et extraordinaire, aussi je pensay de m'excuser assez à propos, sur vn fascheux mal, lequel m'a retenu en la chambre depuis quinze jours, et depuis je n'ay point esté invité à aucun festin, ainsi que l'année passée, et ne crois pas nonplus de l'estre pour le superbe Ballet que la Reine s'apreste de faire; dont je ne me soucierois pas plus que de raison en mon particulier, si ce n'estoit que ce changement de façon et de traitement tesmoigne à tout le monde quelque mespris envers sa Majesté." Beaumont to Villeroy, 12 (O. S. 2), Jan. 1605, in King's MSS., cxvii, f. 116.

12

"Sir Lewis Lewkenor presently went to visit the French Ambassador who having got wind of what the Spaniard was about, received Lewkenor very haughtily. Lewkenor said he had come on behalf of his Majesty to enquire how the Ambassador was, and to say how much his Majesty regretted that the Ambassador would be prevented from attending the Queen's masque. The Ambassador burst into a fury and said he knew what was going on and that it was all the work of seven or eight officials of whom Lewkenor was the chief, whose sole object was to discredit the French and aggrandise the Spanish Ambassador who was so insolent that the Ambassador of France had to put up with some fresh slight every day. He said he was well aware that it was impossible for him to stay long in a country corrupted with Spanish doubloons if the honor and reputation of his master were to be cared for; and that the King of France was quite aware that he was held in but little esteem at this Court." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 27 Jan. (O. S. 17), 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 212, No. 332.

13

"Monsieur

"Je remettray au Sieur D'auval à vous compter particulièrement ce qu'il a vu en cette cour du Ballet de la Reine, de la surprise et indignité qui m' a esté faite sur le sujet dj'celuy, et la façon et les termes dont j'ay vsé pour m'en plaindre, car le discours en seroit trop long et fascheux; aussi que j'estime qu'il vaut mieux que Sa Majesté dissimule par delà, le juste desplaisir qu'elle en doit avoir, que non pas qu'elle le fasse paroistre, d'autant que c'est toujours donner à l'avantage aux Espagnols, et plus de sujet à ceux qui les favorisent icy, de les embrasser, relevant les querelles et se plaignant des injures qu'ils nous font neantmoins parcequ'il est necessaire que vous soyés informé de tout. J'ay chargé led~ Sieur D'auval de le vous rapporter de point en point, en quoy je m'assure que vous admirerez l'impudence et l'imprudance et la mauvaise volonté tout ensemble des Ministres de ce Prince, car certes il y a grand sujet d'admiration, et prévois que s'ils continuent à se

montrer si partiaux, et à rendre si peu de respect aux ambassadeurs de France, qu'il sera difficile que sa Majesté les y puisse retenir avec son honneur, ny qu'eux, aussi ayans du courage, y demeurent qu'avec beaucoup de fascherie et de malcontentement. Ce n'est pas du tout ce qui me fait désirer de me retirer, et qui m'a donné occasion de demander mon congé à sa Majesté car connoissant l'humeur et la conduite de cette nation, il me seroit plus facile de m'y accomoder qu'à tout autre qui y sera moins accoutumé, mais il faut que je vous confesse ingénument qu'outre le desgout, et la melancholie que j'ay vus les affaires changer en ce Royaume, que j'ay ressent y tant de nouvelles incommodités depuis vn mois en ma santé, et reconnu tant de désordres et de nécessité en mes affaires domestiques, que je suis contraint pour éviter le danger et la ruine de tous deux de souhaiter et presser mon retour en France. C'est pourquoy je vous supplie très humblement en tant que vous affectionnez mon bien et ma conservation d'avoir agréable cette resolution que j'ay prise conforme à l'avis que le sieur D'auval m'en a rapporté de vostre part et de me tant favoriser, que de m'aider envers sa Majesté à obtenir mon congé." Letter from Beaumont to Villeroy, Janvier, 1603 (no day of month given) in *King's MSS.*, cxxvii, f. 126.

14

"Monsieur . . .

Jl [Duc de Lenox] fut convié à se trouver au Ballet de la Reine qui fut dansé dimanche dernier au Louvre, ou j'entens que la presse fut si grande que l'on y eût peu de plaisir. Le Nonce et les autres ambassadeurs y estoient en vn eschaftant à part, et led^r Duc en vn autre accompagné des seigneurs et Gentilshommes Anglois et Escossois qui sont avec luy. Sa Majesté fait estat de luy faire paroistre du ressentiment du changement de traitement que vous recevez par de là depuis que L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne y est arrivé il est vray que si led^r Duc de Lenox n'obtient ce qu'il poursuit par ses parents, il en sera si mal content, que je crois que difficilement fairail profit de ce que sa Majesté luy commettra. Or pourvuque le Roy d'Angleterre continue à favoriser Messieurs des Estats et à n'observer ce qu'il à promis aux espagnols nous nous abstiendrons de nous plaindre et formaliser de vostre rang et prestance." Monsieur de Villeroy to Beaumont du vingt-sixiesme janvier (1605) in *King's MSS.*, cxxvii, f. 143.

"Led^r Duc de Lenox à voula excuser cequi s'est passé sur l'occasion du Ballet de lad^r Reine sur les susd^r causes particulières, dequoy j'ay fait contenance me contenter, pour n'avoir sujet d'en faire autre ressentiment; joint que j'ay opinion qu'ils ne laisseront pour cela de reparer et amender cette faute, a la premiere feste qu'ils feront, mais quand ils en vseroient autrement, nous ne devons pour cela nous en esmouvoir

d'avantage car nostre but doit tendre à des fuis plus solides et importantes, soyés donc en patience de ce qui succedera des esperances qu'ils ont conçues de la paix d'Espagne. Et de leur gouvernem^t naturel, et évitons d'entrer en aucune altération avec eux, principalement pour choses légères." Beaumont to King Henry IV, 19 Feb., 1605, in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 176.

15

"The Question of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta is not only kept on the tapis but is publicly discussed, though the Spanish Ambassador has not opened the subject to his Majesty yet. I am told that a few days ago a number of Privy Councillors were in the Queen's apartments, and either by accident or on purpose the subject was touched on. Almost all of them and the Queen foremost, showed themselves favourable to this match; much more so than to the French match. They say that the daughters of France can bring no dower but a little money, and that by the Salic law, which is most rigidly observed in that kingdom, they cannot inherit any territory; whereas the daughters of Spain may not only bring territory in dower but may even succeed to the throne. This has caused great suspicion in the mind of the French Ambassador. This jealousy is increased by the French Ambassador's inability to make progress with two negotiations; one, the renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland; the other, to procure invitations to public ceremonies with precedence over the Spanish Ambassador, and he bases his claim on the practice at Rome and Venice. He has obtained nothing yet." Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 13 (O. S. 3) Jan., 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 208, No. 325.

16

"The conduct of the French Ambassador is much criticised, not only on the ground of what I have already reported, but because he would not wait for the letters the Queen was writing to France. He insisted on crossing on Monday evening, though the weather was bad, and the French ship, which he was expecting, had not arrived. He embarked three hours before the King's orders to put off his departure reached Dover, and his passage was both troublesome and dangerous. They argue from this that the Ambassador, if he had not a share in the plot, at least had some knowledge of it; and there is no doubt but that these suspicions, though resting upon very weak evidence, may still produce a bad effect, especially if fomented, as they will be, by the Spanish, who never lose an opportunity to sow suspicions and differences between the English and the Crown of France." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 21 Nov., 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, No. 445.

“S^r . . .

“I haue seen both the mask on Sunday and the barriers on Munday night. The bridegroom carried himself as grauely and gracefully as if he were of his fathers age. He had greater guiftes given him then my lord Montgomery had, his plate being valued at 3000£ and his jewels, mony a[nd] other guifts at 1600£. more. But to returne to the maske; both Inigo, Ben, and the actors men and women did their partes wth great comendation. The conceits or soule of the mask was Hymen bringing in a bride and Juno pronubas priest a bridegroom, proclaiming thofe two should be sacrificed to Nutpial vnion, and here the poet made an apostrophe to the vnion of the kingdoms. But before the sacrifice could be perform[ed] Ben Jonson turned the globe of the e[arth] standing beh[ind] the altar, and wthin the concaue sate the 8 men-masker[s] representing the 4 humours and the fower affections wh^{ch} leapt forth to disturb the sacrifice to vnion; but amidst their fur[y] R[eason] that fate about them all, crowned wth [burning tapers, came down and silenced them. These eight] together wth Reason their moderatresse mounted about their heades, sate somewhat like the ladies in the scallop shell the last year. About the globe of erth houered a middle region of cloudes in the center wherof stood a grand confort of musicians, and vpoⁿ the cantons or hornes sate the ladies 4 at one corner, and 4 at another, who descended upon the stage, not after the state downright perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well; but came gently sloping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the 8 nuptial powers of Juno pronuba who came downe to confirme the vnion. The men were clad in crimzon, and the weomen in white. They had euery one a white plume of the richest herons fethers, and were so rich in jewels vpoⁿ their heades as was most glorious. I think the[y] hired and borrowed all the principal jewels and ropes of perle both in Court an[d] citty. The Spanish ambassador seemed but poore to the meaneest of them. They danced all variety of dances, both seuerally and promiscue; and then the woemeⁿ took in men as namely the Prince (who danced wth as great perfectioⁿ and as setled a Mat^r as could be deuifed) the Spanish Ambassado^r, the Archdukes Ambassador, the Duke, etc., and the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride, and the greatest of the ladies.” Letter from J. O. Pory to Sr. Rob’t Cotton, Tuesday, Jan. 7, 1605[6], in *Cotton MSS.*, *Julius C.*, iii, 301. Printed but considerably changed in Godfrey Goodman, *Court of King James the First* (1839), ii, 124.

“His most christian Majesty has, I hear, written an autograph letter to the King congratulating him on his escape. At the close he says that

he understands that rumors are flying about to the effect that his Ambassador (de Beaumont), who has just left England, may have knowledge of the plot. He says he cannot believe that any minister of his could ever be so iniquitous and perverted as to have a hand in such wickedness. No Prince is safe against traitors. He gave his word of honour that should he at any time discover the very smallest indication that his Ambassador had had the tiniest part in this plot, he would make such an example of him as that they should clearly see how he hated and abominated all such actions and their authors. But for all this the suspicion of the Ambassador does not diminish, nay, it grows daily; and especially on account of news arrived from France that the moment the Ambassador reached Calais, that was on Tuesday (his most christian Majesty) with a letter, in which he said, "To-day a crushing blow against the King, his house, and all the nobility of England is to be delivered, but the issue is still uncertain." If that were true it would undoubtedly follow that he must have had knowledge of the plot; but he is in such disgrace in the court, the ministers, and even with the royal family that they will lend an ear to any charge against him." Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 22 Dec. (12 O. S.), 1605, as edited by Horatio F. Brown in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 304-5, No. 457.

19

"After mid-day the English Ambassador sent to ask audience that evening or next morning through the mouth of a gentleman of his suite.

"The Doge replied that the Senate was sitting that afternoon, and so he did not see how the audience could be granted that day unless it was a matter of great urgency; . . . half an hour after the Ambassador himself was announced at the door of the Cabinet. . . . 'He [the messenger] told me,' continued the [English] Ambassador that if the question were not urgent, I was begged to defer my audience till the morning. I holding that the question was not only urgent, but superlatively so, have come here at once under the impulse of that zeal and devotion which I bear to the Republic and which teaches me that I ought to come to the Cabinet not only at this hour, but at every hour, and not only to knock at the doors, but to burst them open in order to get in. . . .'

"The Ambassador then communicated the news that the King of Spain was resolved to lend armed aid to the Pope unless an accord were reached with Venice. . . ." Copy from Collegio Secreta Esposizioni Roma, dated Jan. 15 (O. S. 5) 1607, Venetian Archives, by Horatio F. Brown in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 454, No. 661.

See also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, *passim*.

20

"Les cérémonies des Fêtes de Noël sont achevées & sont fermées par le mariage du sieur Heydt qui fut fait Mardi: la où la Reine, ni en un bal qui donnât le soir & qui a été la seule chose de remarque qui se soit faite, ne se voulut point trouver, ayant fini d'être malade, bien que dès le lendemain elle fût debout. Je n'en fçais point encore la cause, mais je suis après pour la découvrir. Pas un des Ambassadeurs n'y ont été conviés Dieu Merci; seulement en ai-je eu vne belle, paire de gants de la part du marie, pour la livrée des noces, qui ne m'a pas couté si cher comme une pareille à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, car il a donné une bague de cinq mille ecus en place: en quoi continue la liberalité de son maître par-deçà, que j'y trouve néanmoins assez mal employé." Letter from Boderie to Puisieux, 18 Jan., 1607 (N. S.) in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, ii, 30-1.

See also Thomas Carlyle, *Historical Sketches* (1898), 50.

21

"His h. commanded me further to advertise your lo. that where he had by my former bre[~] sent your lo. a warrant for the maske wth a blanck but limited the same to a thousand pounds, he was pleased if it were not already filled your lo. wth opinion of the rest of the lords mentioned in the warrant might enlarge it to some reasonable encrease as you should thinke meet. I moued his Ma^{ty} thereupon that if it pleased him there might be a new warrant made w^{thout} limitation of a somme but left to such bylz as by your Hs should be signed and allowed His Ma^{ty} seemed to like it well and if it please your lo. to think it a fitt way it may be done. . . . This 27 Nov., 1607 Your lo. most humbly to comãd
"Thos: Lake."

In *State Papers Domestic James I*, xxxvii, 96.

22

"Monsieur,

"Ce que je répons à M. de Puisieux satisferra, s'il vous plait, à ce qu'il vous a plu m'écrire par la vôtre du 11 du passé, puisqu'aussi bien votre lettre & la sienne ne touchent qu'une même chose. Je vous dirai par celle-ci que M. le Duc de Lenox m'a fait le faveur de venir diner céans, pour m'avertir que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne étant avant hier allée au devant du Roy son mari, elle lui avoit dit que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne l'avoit prié qu'il vît son bal, & qu'elle lui avoit promis; de quoi le Roi étoit demeuré un peu étonné, & lui avoit répondu seulement: mais que dira l'Ambassadeur de France, vn même qu'an dernier que vous fîtes, l'autre Ambassadeur d'Espagne s'y trouva, & celui de France ne s'y trouva point. Que pour cela elle ne s'étoit point sentie rebutée, & faisoit toujours état que ledit, ambassadeur y affiteroit, de

quoi il avoit estimé devoir m'avertir, & pour le respect qu'il a au Roi, & pour l'amitié qu'il me porte. Je l'ai remercié de ce bon office; & jugeant qu'il alloit en cela quelque cas de la dignité de sa Majesté, & qu'il ne feroit point mauvais de remédier, s'il étoit possible, j'y ajoutai, que je ne pouvois me persuader que quand le Roi de la Grande Bretagne auroit bien pensé à ce qui se pouvoit ensuivre de chose de si peu de moment en apparence, il se laiffât si facilement emporter à la volonté de la Reine; que ce bal étoit une action publique, & que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne ne pouvoit être favorisé plus que celui de France, sans un manifeste temoignage, de mauvaise affection envers sa majesté; que je sçavois combien ce qui s'étoit passé au fait du Roi de Dannemarck, lorsqu'il étoit ici, l'avoit offensé; que ceci l'offenseroit sans comparaison davantage, & que quelque couleur qu'on essayât d'y donner pour faire croire que ceci ne vint du Roi, mais de la Reine, n'éblouiroient jamais ceux qui auroient bonne vue joint que cela ne se sçavroit dire sans faire un manifeste tort audit Roi, qui doit être le maître en sa maison: que plusieurs étoient en peine de ce qui pouvoit mouvoir leurs Majestés à faire ce bal; mais que chacun auroit grandement occasion de croire que ç'auroit été seulement pour faire cette défaveur à mon maître, & possible pour venger par ce moyen le passage du Comte de Tyrone par son Royaume: que ledit Roi & messieurs de son conseil étoient bons & sages; & que je ne pouvois croire que quand ils auroient bien pensé à tout ceci & à tout ce qui s'en pourroit dire aux étrangers, ils consentissent aisément de fournir de matière à tant de discours; que pour moi je n'étois pas délibéré de m'en plaindre pour redoubler l'injure qu'en recevoit le Roi mon maître, si l'on venoit à aller outre après ce que j'en aurois dit; mais que tous ceux qui aimeroient l'union de leurs Majestés & desireroient de confirmer leur bonne intelligence étoient obligés de s'en remuer & faire entendre combien une action que la Reine estimoit peut-être légère & indifférente, pouvoit attirer de conséquence. Il m'a dit que ce n'étoit pas encore chose bien résolue & qu'aujourd'hui il verroit les Comtes de Salisbry & de Dombary pour essayer par leur moyen de rompre ce coup. Je crois qu'il a été envoyé pour me fonder, & pour voir de quelle façon je le prendrois, afin de s'y gouverner par après entr'eux selon cela. Et comme en vérité je n'estime pas que chose semblable se puisse faire sans que le Roi y soit offensé, j'ai estimé aussi lui en devoir parler de cette sorte; sur quoi il m'a promis me faire sçavoir ce qu'il en aura remporté de ces Messieurs. Après cela je ne vois point que je m'en doive remuer davantage, si ce n'est possible d'en dire un mot au comte de Salisbry, de peur qu'il ne pense que je le méprise, mais si davantage sa Majesté trouve bon que je passe à d'autres remontrances & d'autres protestations envers ce Roi, ou envers les siens, je vous supplie très-humblement, Monsieur, me le faire sçavoir par Courier exprès; car comme ce bal ne se doit danser que le jour de leurs

Rois, qui fera le 16 à notre maniere de compter, ledit courier aura encore tout loisir de venir. C'est une bagatelle, & qui mendrée par l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, doit plutôt tourner à mépris qu'autrement. Mais comme il ne se sçaura pas partout qu'il l'ait mendrée, & qu'on pourroit possible dire que je ne m'y suis porté assez vertement, je vous prie très-preffamment me tant obliger que je ne faille point; car felon que vous me commanderez, ne doutez point que je ne fasse. Sans doute que c'est une partie faite par la Reine, du si ce Roi n'est retenu de la crainte d'offenser le nôtre, il est si bon qu'il se laissera porter; car il n'est pas croyable, du pouvoir qu'elle prend tous les jours sur lui, & des artifices qu'elle y apporte. Mais si ne puis-je croire que quand ledit Duc de Lenox aura representé ce que je lui en ai dit, ce Roi & les siens n'y pensent plus d'une fois . . .

De Londres, le 1 Janvier, 1608."

La Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 8-13.

23

"Monsieur,

Votre lettre du 29 du passé me fut rendue dès le du présent; mais comme l'affaire de ce certain ballet, dont j'écrivis dernièrement, s'est toujours agitée depuis, sans que j'y aye pu voir rien d'affuré jusques à hier, j'ai différé pour cela à vous y faire plutôt réponse. Je disois par mes précédentes, comme sur l'avis que m'avoit donné le Duc de Lenox de la promesse faite par cette Reine à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne de la faire intervenir à son ballet, je lui avois remontré combien cela pouvoit offenser le Roi mon maître, si je n'y étois convié aussi; & comme ayant bien reçu les raisons que je lui en avois dites, il s'étoit chargé de les représenter aux comtes de Salisbury & le Dombar, & me faire sçavoir ce que s'y résoudroit. De-là à trois jours, il me manda que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne étoit infiniment marri de la facilité dont la Reine sa femme s'étoit laissé engager envers ledit Ambassadeur, & avoit fort bien pris les raisons qu'il n'y avoit plus de remède, & qu'au lieu, ledit Roi me vouloit donner à diner. Tout sur l'heure je dis à celui qui m'en porta la parole, que tant s'en faut que ce fût pour guerir le mal, c'étoit pour l'accroître davantage. qu'il n'y avoit point de proportion entre un diner que me donneroit le Roi & l'honneur que recevoit ledit Ambassadeur par l'intervention audit ballet; que l'un étoit une action privée, & l'autre un spectacle & une solennité publique; que si je dinois avec le Roi, l'autre y souperoit, & de plus servit vn par dix mille personnes seoir auprès dudit Roi, & recevoir la faveur de voir danser la Reine & assister à la collation qui se fait apres; & comme tous ces spectateurs feroient les juges de cette action, & ceux qui la publieroient par toute la chrétienté, il n'y en auroit pas peut-être la centieme partie qui sçuffent que j'eusse diné avec le Roi, & entre ceux qui le sçauroient, pas un seul qui n'eût occasion de me tenir pour un ignorant & mauvais serviteur,

fi par ma préférence je montróis consentir au préjudice que recevoit sa Majesté en cette occasion: que partant je le priois supplier ledit sieur Duc de ma part de rompre le coup dudit diné, parce qu'en effet j'étois tres-résolu de la refuser. Le lendemain ledit Duc me renvoya à celui même (c'étoit le sieur de Kier) me dira qu'il me-priaît de bien penser au refus que je voulois faire; que ledit Roi croyoit faire plus pour moi en m'appellant en son festin, qu'il ne feroit pour l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne; & qu'il me prioit m'accomoder à cet expédient. Je lui fis réponse y avoir fort bien pensé; que j'étois fort marri de ne pouvoir recevoir l'honneur que sa Majesté m'offrait; qu'en un autre temps je l'eusse estimé aussi grand, & l'eusse autant fait valoir, comme en cette occasion j'étois contraint de la refuser; que si sa Majesté trouvoit que j'eusse occasion de me douloir de la promesse faite à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, il n'y avoit que deux expédients pour me contenter, l'un de m'appeller audit ballet aussi bien que lui, & me donner le lieu qui m'appartient, ou me le laisser prendre, comme je fçauois fort bien faire, ou bien n'y admettre ledit Ambassadeur ni moi; qu'encore qu'en ce dernier je reçusse du préjudice, pour me voir ôter une possession en laquelle sont tous les Ministres du Roi mon maître par les autres Cours de le Chrétienté non interessées; si m'en accommoderois—je plus volontiers, que de troubler le plaisir de S. M.

Cette réponse faite, & la procédure que j'avois tenue jusques-là louée par lesdits Comtes de Salisbury & de Dombart & beaucoup d'autres du Conseil, le lendemain ledit Comte de Salisbury ne laissa point de m'envoyer son Secrétaire pour me prier de m'accomoder à l'expédient dudit festin; me disant que le Roi étoit extrêmement marri de la légèreté de la Reine, mais qu'elle prenait ceci si haut, que pas un d'eux, ni le Roi même ne lui en osoient parler; que chacun, fçavoit assez combien elle étoit Espagnole, & le pouvoir quelle avoit sur son mari; & que cette faveur qu'elle vouloit faire à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne feroit réputée d'un chacun venir d'elle, mais le dñer que le Roi me donneroit, procéderoit de lui, & pour ni empêcher d'être préjudicié en ce qu'elle feroit: que sans cela S. M. avoit aussi bien résolu de me banqueter durant ces fêtes, & que je ne méprisasse point l'honneur qu'elle me vouloit faire. Je lui fis les mêmes réponses que j'avois faites à du Kier, mais encore plus ressenties; & j'y ajoutai que puisqu'il m'avoit que la Reine étoit Espagnole, & qu'elle avoit un si grand pouvoir sur son mari, le Roi mon maître auroit peu d'occasion de bien espérer dorénavant de ce côté-ci ains feroit, à mon opinion, conseillé de se gouverner ci-après avec eux comme il fait avec ceux de la Maison d'Autriche, leur ôter ce moyen de lui faire ces petits déplaîsirs en la personne de ses Ambassadeurs, & laisser auprès d'eux seulement un Secrétaire: que j'étois marri de donner ce mécontentement au Roi son maître; mais que ce n'étoit pas moi qui en avois fait naître la cause. qu' outre ce qui se passa lorsque

le Roi de Dennemarck étoit ici il s'étoit encore passé du depuis tout plein de petites choses dont j'aurois bien pu me formaliser, & que toutefois, pour ne me montrer hargneux ni pointilleux, j'avois différé de faire; que de mes yeux j'avois vu le Carosse du grand Chambellan entrer chez l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, lorsque le dernier Tournoi se fit, & mes gens l'avoient vu en descendre chez le genre du grand Chambellan & premier maître d'Hotel de la maison du Roi, où la femme dudit Chambellan & ses filles l'attendoient pour lui faire voir ledit Tournoi; que je ne m'en étois point plaint, ne trouvant du tout étrange qu'il fût fervi pour son argent, comme je ne m'étois plaint aussi de ce que je n'avois une seule fois envoyé demander audience du Roi ou de la Reine aux deux grands Chambellans, que toujours ils n'eussent dit que celui d'Espagne y avoit envoyé déjà, afin qu'il eût toujours l'avantage d'y aller de premier: que ces choses-la se pouvoient dissimuler comme aussi je les avois dissimulées; mais que l'action dont il s'agissoit étoit trop publique pour la laisser passer de cette sorte: que je ne pouvois pas contraindre ledit Roi d'en user autrement que comme il voudroit; mais qu'il ne me pourroit pas empêcher aussi de remarquer ce qui s'y feroit, & le représenter fort fidèlement à mon maître qu'il considérât, s'il lui plait, en quelle conjoncture ceci se fait; que l'on est maintenant en Holland sur la conclusion d'une Ligue, ou l'offense qui se fera à S. M. en cette occasion, apportera peu de réputation & peu de vigueur; que d'une bagatelle & d'un plaisir de si peu d'importance, ledit Roi n'en fit pas un point d'état, & ne fit paroître que la crainte qu'il a d'irriter les Espagnols, fut plus forte en son endroit, que l'amitié qu'il doit à mon maître.

Je le renvoyai avec cela; & au sortir il dit lui-même à mon Secrétaire, que j'avois raison, & que M. le Comte de Salisbury le jugeoit ainsi. Sur son rapport le conseil s'assembla, où la plupart inclinoient à contredire ledit Ambassadeur. Mais la Reine le sachant fit la furieuse plus que devant, & envoya dit que c'étoit à elle à qui l'on s'adressoit; qu'ils fissent ce qu'ils voudroient, mais que plutôt elle ne danferoit point, si elle ne maintenoit audit Ambassadeur ce qu'elle lui avoit promis. Sur cela ils prient le Duc de Lenox de me venir lui-même trouver, pour m'engager derechef d'accepter le tempérament de ce festin, puisqu'ils ne voyoient autre moyen de me satisfaire; que ce festin se feroit le plus publiquement qu'il seroit possible, où l'Ambassadeur de Venise seroit convié avec moi, & que celui d'Espagne ne souperoit point avec Roi, mais viendrait seulement après souper lui, & celui de Flandre pour voir le bal. Je lui répondis de même qu'aux autres; y ajoutant seulement que bien qu'il ne soupat, il auroit la collation, qui étoit chose d'autant de faveur que je savois que pareil traitement avoit été fait à M. de Beaumont, comme on me vouloit faire, lequel n'avoit été loué de l'avoir accepté; que lors la principale excuse que l'on y prit, étoit la haine que la

Reine lui portoit; que cela cessoit maintenant, parce que non seulement je sçavois ne lui en avoir donné d'occasion, mais avoir trop de preuves lu contraire par les démonstrations qu'il lui avoit plu encore me faire depuis huit jours; que ceci regarderoit désormais purement & simplement le Roi mon maître & que je suppliois très-humblement leurs Majestés y penser plus d'une fois: que je n'estimois point qu'il pût y avoir aucune proportion entre ce festin & le bal; mais que néanmoins, pour ôter l'opinion que je fusse seul qui formasse cette difficulté, puisque ledit Ambassadeur de Venise étoit en même cause que moi, je le priois me donner une heure de temps pour en aller conférer avec lui, & que si ledit Ambassadeur jugeoit de pouvoir s'accommoder de cet expédient, possible m'y accommoderois-je; & que dans le soir je lui en rendrois réponse. De ce pas j'allai trouver ledit Ambassadeur à qui ayant proposé le fait, & représenté tout ce qui s'étoit passé sur ici lui de part & d'autre, il loua la procédure que j'y avois tenue, & reconnut qu'à la vérité nous recevriens un extrême désavantage, & lui & moi, par les expédients qui le propoisoient; que pour lui il n'étoit non plus résolu d'accepter le festin que je pouvois être, & qu'il valoit beaucoup mieux souffrir que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne se trouvât seul audit ballet, où à plupart des spectateurs sçauroient qu'il n'auroit, été convié que par la Reine & par son importunité, que d'accepter une condition si inégale: que nous ne laisserions à la vérité d'y être offensés, mais que le refus du festin nous feroit une protestation à l'encontre; & pour le moins que nous n'y mettrions rien qui pût être préjudiciable à la dignité de nos maîtres, en n'y consentant point.

"Je fis incontinent sçavoir cette réponse au Duc de Lenox, sur laquelle derechef le Conseil fut appelé. Il fut assemblé jusqu'à onze heures du soir; & finalement par les menaces & menées de la Reine, il fut résolu que puisque nous ne voulions l'Ambassadeur de Venise ni moi nous trouver audit festin, nous n'y ferions point conviés; mais que l'on en feroit excuse à nos maîtres, & qu'on leur représenteroit les offres qu'on nous avoit faites; & que cependant la Reine étant de cette forte engagée à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, ce qu'elle lui avoit promis lui feroit maintenu: de force qu'il dansera, & nous ne mangerons point, encore que nous aurions en meilleure grâce à mon avis, à l'un qu'il n'aura à l'autre.

"La Reine se prend maintenant au Duc de Lenox du refus que j'ai fait d'être de leur festin, & jura hier deux bons cordieux qu'elle l'en feroit repentir; disant que je les bravoïs, & m'opposois à la volonté, & que ce ne pouvoit être que par son conseil: en quoi je trouve qu'elle m'offense plus qu'en tout le reste; car aussi le bon Duc n'at-il nulle coulpe de ce côté-là.

"J'ai été extrêmement marri de cette rencontre, & encore plus qu'elle soit survenue en cette saison, où je vous de part & d'autre assez de fujets

de mécontentemens fans y ajouter encore celui ci. Mais ce n'est moi qui l'ai fait naître; & je me ferois réputé toute ma vie tres-malheureux, fi je m'étois laiffé fléchir à quelque chose d'indigne & de préjudiciable à la réputation de S. M. Elle ne laiffe de recevoir injure, ou pour le moins un grand témoignage de la mauvaife affection de cette Princeffe, & de la foibleffe de fon mari en ce que se fait. Mais fi j'avois l'honneur d'en être cru, ils n'auraient d'ici en avant non plus moyen de lui n faire de femblables, comme ils ne l'ont de lui en faire d'autres: car tant qu'ils ne lui donneroient le lieu qui lui appartient, ils n'auroient qu'un Secrétaire auprès d'eux; & fi S. M. se réfolvoit une fois d'en venir-la, jamais gens nefe trouveroient fi étonnés. Ils font foibles & gloireux à toute outrance; & par la procédure qu'ils tiennent avec l'Espagne, il est facile à reconnoître font fans comparaison plus capables de crainte que de reconnoissance ou d'amitié.

"Ils n'ont encore, à mon opinion, aucun vent de leur Ambassadeur sur la satisfaction qu'on lui a donné de leurs prétendues dettes, au moins ne m'en ont-ils rien fait paroître en cette occasion, & difficilement s'en feroient-ils passés, s'ils l'avoient fçu. S'ils m'en parlent, ce que je ne crois pas à cette heur, je fçaurai que leur répondre. . . .

"De Londres, le 14 Janvier, 1608."

Lettre de M. de la Boderie M. de Puisieux, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 13-25.

24

"Le Roi est à bon droit tres-mal contente du bon traitement que l'on fait par dela à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, par dessus & au préjudice de celui qui est dû autrement en votre personne. Il a trouvé bon ce que vous en avez dit au Duc de Lenox; & si sur cela ils n'ont changé de Conseil, il ne veut pas que vous en témoigniez autre repentiment, ni même que vous vous en plaigniez. Il suffira qu'ils fçachent que S. M. n'en est contente, ni vous aussi, fans faire autre bruit. Ils veulent nous engager en la dispute d'une compétence avec l'Espagne, contre toute afin dese faire courtifier davantage." Villeroy to Boderie, 20 Jan., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 33-4.

25

"Monfieur de la Boderie, l'Ambassadeur de mon frère Roi de la Grande Bretagne a desiré être oui en mon Conseil sur le fu et des dettes qu'il prétend lui être dûes par moi, . . .

"Cependant je vous dirai m'avoir été représenté ce que vous appréhendez qu'ils prétendent faire en votre endroit au ballet qui se prépare; de quoi j'estime que vous devez faire démonstration que j'aurai occasion juste d'être offensé, fans toutefois vous en remuer davantage, ni en faire plus grand bruit, qui est peut-être ce qu'ils désirent. Il suffira

qu'ils connoissent que vous le remarquiez; & s'ils veulent passer outre, le méprifer plutôt que d'entrer en plus ouvert ressentiment. Je prie Dieu Monsieur de la Boderie, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte garde. Ecrit à Paris le 20 Janvier, 1608. Signé Henri, & plus bas de Neufville." De la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 31-3.

26

"Monsieur:

"Ce Ballet dont vous n'avez déjà que trop oui parler a été ce qui a entièrement occupé le Bureau en cette Cour. & devant & depuis mes précédences. M. du Hollier y ayant assisté, & vu & entendu sans doute plus que moi ce qui s'y est fait, & ce qui s'en est dit de tous côtés, je me remettrai à lui à vous en entretenir. Tant y a que non obstant toutes mes bonnes raisons, l'ambassadeur d'Espagne y a comparu, & un peu defrayé la compagnie. Celui de Venise y a été aussi, invité seulement du matin, pour, comme j'estime, ne donner loisir à celui de Flandre de crier à l'encontre. La femme de ce dernier y assista aussi; mais elle fut si mal vue & si mal reçue, qu'elle voudroit en avoir été à cent lieues loin. On l'avoit convié de souper avec la Princesse; elle soupa avec la Gouvernante, & fut placéé pour voir le ballet à plus de dix pas de ladite Princesse, & sans une seule Dame auprès d'elle qui lui fût compagnie. La Reine ni au partir de là, ni durant le ballet ni à la collation, ne lui dit pas une parole, encore qu'elle fût assez près d'elle, ce qui fut remarque: ni même à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, ayant en sa présence & tout joignant lui, du long de ladite collation, continuellement entretenu l'Ambassadeur de Venise. Je ne sçais si c'est pour cela, ou pour autre chose, que ledit Ambassadeur d'Espagne a dit depuis, qu'il voudrait lui en avoir coûté mille écus, & n'y avoir point été. On envoya deux jours devant sçavoir de moi, si ma femme y étant conviée de la part de la Reine, elle s'y trouverait. Je fis reponse qu'elle étoit trop sage pour pouvoir recevoir faveur en la défaveur qui m'étoit faite, & trop courageuse pour vouloir servir de lustre à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne: que si on la voyoit là auprès de lui, moi n'y étant point, cela ne serviroit que pour faire discourir encore le monde, & qu'il valoit mieux que l'on ne s'y souvint du tout point de nous. Chacun a loué par-deçà la façon que j'y ai tenue encore que l'on se foit un peu piqué de mes refus. Dieu veuille que par delà c'en foit de meme. Tout y a qu'ils en font réduits aux excuses; & par aventure qu'en s'excusant, ils s'effayeront de m'accuser: Je m'affure que le Roi est trop bon maitre, pour me denier sa protection en une chose où je ne me suis rien proposé que sa dignité. De cela vous affurerai-je, Monsieur, qu'ils y feront une autre fois plus circonfpects; & qu'en tout ce que je vous ai dit, j'ai été le plus véritable qu'il m'a été possible." Lettre de M. de la Boderie à M. de Puisieux, 29 Jan., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 42.

“Suivant cela, celui qui fait ici l’office que fait chez nous M. de Gandy, & qui est aussi bon espagnol qu’il est Anglois, me vint hier au soir trouver, me dit qu’il étoit envoyé du Roi son maître pour me faire sçavoir que Mardi prochain se faisoient les noces de M. le Vicomte d’Adinton avec la fille de M. de Comte de Suffex; & qu’étant ledit sieur d’Adinton un des serviteurs qu’eût sa Majesté qu’il aimoit autant, & à qui il estimoit devoir le plus, comme à celui à qui il étoit obligé de la vie, & il desiroit non seulement lui faire tout l’honneur qu’il lui seroit possible en cette occasion, mais y convier avec lui les Ministres des Princes qu’il estimoit s’être le plus réjoui de sa conservation; & que comme il s’affuroit que le Roi son maître avoit été l’un de ceux qui en avoient reçu plus de contentement il me prioit de vouloir assister au festin public qui se feroit Mardi au soir pour les noces, en la compagnie de M. le Prince, & ou partir de la à un ballet qui se préparoit par M. le Duc de Lenox, & autres principaux Seigneurs de cette Cour: qu’il y en avoit eu d’autres, qui par la recherche qu’ils en avoient faite, avoient assisté à un ballet, dont il sçavoit que j’avois reçu quelque déplaisir mais que ç’avoit été par leur importunité, le contre sa volonté, & sans y être rien intervenu du sien; & que comme il me prioit de le croire, il me prioit aussi de ne défférer pour cela de me trouver audit festin; m’assurant qu’il m’y feroit traiter de telle sorte, que chacun reconnoitroit le respect & l’amitié particulière qu’il portoit au Roi son maître.” Boderie to Villeroy, 14 Feb., 1608, in de La Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 94-5.

“Monsieur de la Boderie, j’ai appris par les lettres que vous avez écrites aux sieurs de Villeroy & de Puisieux, l’offre qui vous est faite pour réparer en votre personne, aux noces du sieur d’Adinton, l’avantage qui avoit été donné à l’Ambassadeur d’Espagne au ballet qui se fit dernièrement par ordre & en présence de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, laquelle je suis d’avis que vous acceptiez, tant pour ne paroître par le refus que vous en feriez, hargneux ni pointilleux, & moi peu desireux de la conservation de leur amitié, que parce qu’elle semble suffisante & convenable à ma dignité & au rang qui m’est dû & à mes ministres. Mais j’entens que ce soit avec la condition que vous-même avez jugée prégnante & nécessaire, que vous comparoîtrez seul Ambassadeur en la cérémonie du ballet ou du festin, ou de tous deux, sans que celui des Archiducs [of Flanders] y soit admis, comme il semble qu’ils avoient quelque envie de faire, & à quoi vous avez pris bon conseil de vous opposer fermement, comme je veux que vous fassiez derechef. Si d’aventure ils continuent en la même volonté, pour les raisons fortes &

pertinentes que vous répresentez. S'ils vous donnent cette satisfaction entière & complete, de laquelle vous jugiez que j'aye occasion de demeurer content, ainsi que je le ferai en cette forme, acceptez la, fans, en ce cas, leur temoigner autrement que j'aye beaucoup de reffentiment de la dernière action en laquelle j'ai été intéressé si hors de propos. Nous verrons de la façon qu'ils en useront ce'-après aux autres occasions, selon lesquelles je me reglerai & conduirai en leur endroit, ainsi que j'estimerai utile & honorable." King Henry IV to Boderie, 21 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 113-4.

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"Environs la mi-carême, des comédiens, à qui j'avois fait défendre de jouer l'histoire du Maréchal de Biron, voyant toute la cour dehors, ne laiffèrent de le faire & non seulement cela, mais y introduisirent la Reine & Madame Verneuil, traitant celle-ci fort mal de paroles, & lui donnant faufflet. En ayant en avis de la à quelques jours, aussitôt je m'en allai trouver le comte de Salisbury, & lui fis plainte de ce que non seulement ces compagnons la contrevenoient à la défense qui leur avoit été faite, mais y ajoutoient des choses non seulement plus importantes, mais qui n'avoient que faire avec le Maréchal de Biron, & au partir delà étoient toutes souffes. Il se montra fort courroucé & des l'heure même envoya pour les prendre. Toutefois il ne s'en trouva que trois, qui aussitôt furent menés à la prison où ils sont encore; mais le principal qui est le compositeur échapa. Un jour ou deux devant, ils avoient dépêché leur Roi, sa mine d'Ecosse, & tous les Favoris d'une étrange forte; car après lui avoir fait dépiter le Ciel sur le vol d'un oiseau, & fait battre un Gentilhomme pour avoir rompu ses chiens, ils le dépeignoient ivre pour le moins une fois le jour. Ce qu'ayant sçu, je pensai qu'il seroit assez en colere contre lesdits Comédiens, sans que je l'y misse davantage, & qu'il valoit mieux faire référer leur châtement à l'irrévérence qu'ils lui avoient portée, qu'à ce qu'ils pourroient avoir dit des dites Dames, & pour ce, je me résolus de n'en plus parler, mais confiderer ce qu'ils ont fait. Quand le Roi a été ici, il a temoigné être extrêmement irrité contre ces marauds-là, & à commandé qu'ils soient châtiés, & sur-tout qu'on eût à faire diligence de trouver le compositeur. Même il a fait défense que l'on n'eût plus à jouer des Comédies dedans Londres. Pour lever cette defense, quatre autres Compagnies qui y sont encore offrent déjà cent mille francs, lesquels pourront bien leur en ordonner la permission; mais pour le moins fera-ce à condition qu'ils ne représenteront plus aucune histoire moderne, ni ne parleront des choses du temps à peine de la vie. Si j'eusse cru qu'il y eût-eu de la suggestion en ce qu'avoient dit les Comédiens, j'en eusse fait du bruit davantage; mais ayant tout sujet d'estimer le contraire, j'ai pensé que le meilleur étoit de ne point le remuer davantage, & laisser audit Roi la vengeance

de son fait. Toutefois si vous jugez de de-la, Monfieur, que je n'en aye fait assez, il est encore temps." Lettre de M. de la Boderie à M. de Puisieux, 8 Avril, 1608, Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 196-8.

Credit for this document should be given Professor C. W. Wallace, who found the original some years ago in Paris.

30

"Les voici tantôt a Noël, c'est-à-dire au temps de leurs fêtes. La Reine fait encore un ballet, & déjà l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne l'a été prier que lui & un Ambassadeur extraordinaire qui vient, le pussent voir, dont j'ai peur qu'elle lui ait donné quelque espérance. Le Comte de Salisbury est celui même qui m'en a averti, me disant que pour l'honneur de S. M., & pour l'amitié qu'il me porte, il ne pouvoit voir se passer telle chose sans me le dire, ni sans s'y opposer autant comme civilement & prudemment il le pouvoit faire; qu'il ne voyoit point de moyen d'y remédier plus facile que le faire prier moi-même la Reine d'y être appelé, & que sans que je m'en mêlasse, cet office si pouvoit faire par ma femme, ou quelque Dame de mes amies; que sur cela la Reine ne failliroit point de lui en parler, & que lors il auroit occasion de lui en dire plus librement son avis; m'assurant que ce seroit, ou à faire que j'y fusse convié avec la dignité due à mon maître, ou à ce que nous n'y fussions appelés ni l'un ni l'autre, qui est bien, à mon opinion, le mieux, qui en puisse arriver. Je me suis étonné que ladite Reine s'y soit engagée en quelque forte; car il n'y a que huit jours qu'elle même parloit avec ma femme dudit ballet. Elle lui dit que ledit Ambassadeur lui avoit envoyé demander audience, & que se doutant que c'étoit pour lui faire telle requête, elle s'étoit excusée, & qu'elle ne le verroit point, s'il étoit possible, que ledit ballet ne fût dansé, ajoutant qu'elle ne lui pourroit accorder ce qu'il lui demanderoit sans se déclarer trop partiale; qu'elle ne l'étoit point, & qu'elle avoit été trop marri l'année passée de ce qui étoit arrivé; maisque sans considérer la conséquence, elle s'y étoit trop engagée pour s'en pouvoir dédire; que le Roi s'en étoit fort courroucé contre elle, & qu'elle ne vouloit plus tomber en ce danger. Ma femme tourna cela en gaufferie, lui disant que ledit Ambassadeur avoit, celui sembloit, assez fait rire la compagnie l'autre fois par son beau danser, sans la vouloir défrayer encore; & qu'elle feroit beaucoup plus pour lui de le laisser dormir dans son lit, que de lui donner occasion de gagner quelque catarre, comme il n'y est aussi bien que trop sujet, La Reine s'en mit à rire, & lui parla toujours de façon que j'avois sujet de croire qu'on me laisseroit en paix. Néanmoins me revoici en ces accoutumées brouilleries du sans mentir je me trouve bien empêché. Je suis le Conseil dudit Comte, & présentement ma femme va voir madame la Comtesse de Bedford, qui est assez de mes amies, & a assez de part avec la Reine, pour faire le susdit office. A son retour je verrai ce que je m'en devrai

promettre; & encore que le langage de ladite Reine, & la façon dont m'a parlé ledit Comte me doivent faire espérer qu'il ne se fera rien à mon préjudice, si n'en suis-je pas si assuré que ce qui se passe au fait des pretendues dettes, & l'envie qu'ils auront toujours de nous embarrasser avec l'Espagne ne leur en puisse donner l'occasion. Or comme je ne voudrois pas vivre un jour après, si pour le moins je n'y avois fait tout ce qui peut dépendre d'un bon & courageux serviteur, je vous supplie tres-humblement, Monsieur, me faire ordonner la résolution que j'y devrai prendre; si arrivant qu'ils fassent chose en quoi la dignité de S. M. soit tant soit peu offensée, je devrai rompre & m'en aller; ou bien si je devrai diffimuler & patienter, attendant quelque nouvel ordre. Je ne me délibère pas cependant d'en faire grand bruit, ni d'en parler à outre qu'audit Comte de Salisbury, ayant aussi bien reconnu l'année passée trop de foiblesse en ceux qui s'y devoient le plus employer; encore que pour le particulier dudit Comte, cette nouvelle alliance du Grand Chambellan & de lui, la femme duquel, ou possible de quels, tire pension dudit Ambassadeur, outre celle de ses autres parens, ne m'en donne la confiance si assurée, que je prendrois peut-être en autre chose. Ce ballet ne se fera encore de vingt-trois ou vingt-quatre jours. Je vous supplie, que je puisse sçavoir l'intention de S. M. entre ce & là, me conservant l'honneur de votre bonne grace aussi entière, comme je ferai toute ma vie;

De Londres le 13 December, 1608."

Boderie to Villeroy in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 104.

31

"Les brouilleries des ballets recommencent. J'en écris à M. de Villeroy, & le supplie me faire sçavoir si j'y devrai éclater ou non. Je vous prie tenir la main que je puisse être instruit à temps, afin que s'il est possible, je ne faille au trop, ni au peu." Boderie to Puifieux, 13 Dec. (O. S. 3), 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 111.

32

"Monsieur de la Boderie, je suis marri que vous vous trouviez en la même peine que l'année passée à l'occasion de ces ballets, dont j'ai le murmure par-delà; car telles rencontres sont toujours fâcheuses entre Ministres de Princes amis, mais sur-tout en l'état où sont à présent les affaires publiques, & en temps que l'union & bonne intelligence sont tres-utiles au bien & avancement d'icelles. Néanmoins il y a moins de blâme de rechercher expédient devant que de s'y engager que s'y laisser surprendre, & possible embarrasser honteusement, je vous dirai que je persiste en la délibération que je vous fis sçavoir l'année dernière sur semblable sujet; qui est que si vous jugez & présentez qu'en ce fait ma dignité & réputation soient intéressées, vous fassiez entendre à ceux

qu'il fera besoin, avoir de tout temps commandement de moi, de me revenir trouver plutôt que de souffrir qu'il soit diminué chose aucune du rang qui m'appartient. Et de fait, si vous reconnoissez que sur cette déclaration, ils ne se mettent en devoir de vous donner contentement, vous prendrez congé du Roi de la Grande Bretagne & ses principaux Ministres; laissant seulement votre Secrétaire selon qu'il est accoutumé d'être pratiqué, pour me tenir averti des occurrences qui concernent le public & le bien de mon service en particulier, jusqu'à ce que j'en aye autrement ordonné. Mais je suis d'avis que, préalablement après la réception de la présente, vous fassiez doucement sçavoir que vous avez ce commandement; afin de les intimider & convier d'être plus circonspects à me rendre ce qui me convient, & que j'ai toujours attendu de la bonne & fraternelle amitié dudit Roi. Vous prendrez donc garde qu'il ne se passe rien en cette action un désavantage de ma dignité. Sur quoi je prie Dieu, Monsieur de la Boderie, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte garde. Écrit à Paris le 23 Decembre, 1608. Signé Henri, & plus bas De Neufville." de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 123-5.

33

"mon alarme de ce certain Ballet s'est beaucoup diminuée depuis que ma femme a revu la Reine. Elle lui a avoué que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne avoit vivement été la prier de convier lui & ledit Don Fernandez de Girone à le voir; mais qu'elle ne le lui avoit nullement accordé, ains l'avoit du tout renvoyé au Roi: ajoutant qu'elle désireroit beaucoup plutôt que ce fût moi qui le viffe; & que si je l'en faisois prier par le Comte de Salisbury, mais sans qu'il fût que cela vint d'elle, Elle y feroit tout son effort." Boderie to Puifieux, 27 Dec. (O. S. 17), 1608 in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 136-7.

34

"Seventy thousand crowns have been sent to Flanders at the disposal of the Spanish Ambassador here. It is not six months since he received other hundred and sixty thousand. Almost all this, I am told by those who are in a position to know after deducting the Ambassador's salary and expenses will go in large pensions to many of the more prominent personages of the court including some prominent ministers (compreso anco qualahe signore principale); a part perhaps will go to Holland." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 9 Jan., 1609, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 404.

35

"Notre Reine doit danser son ballet Dimanche mais ce ne doit être qu'un essai pour un plus grand & superbe qu'elle doit faire dedans ce Carnaval. Il ne se dansera qu'en deux lieux, premièrement à l'arsenal,

& après au Palais de la Reine Marguerite, car on ne danse plus au Louvre. On m'a dit que la Reine a fait prier par madame de Sully Madame L'Ambassadrice d'Angleterre de voir ledit ballet à l'Arfenal, où l'on parle de femoudre encore son mari & même l'Ambassadeur de Venise. Le Roi s'y trouva. Nous avons opinion que la Reine Marguerite priera le Nonce, Don Pedro de Toledo, & l'Ambassadeur de Flandre avec sa femme, du S. N. pourra aussi bien se refoudre d'aller, apres qu'elle aura été à l'arsenal. Ce ne font point leurs Majestés qui font cette femonce, puisqu'aussi bien on ne danse point dans leur Palais. L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre qui fera accompagné du Vicomte de Crambourn en aura le premier la vue en présence du Roi; & il faudra que les autres veillent plus tard pour le voir chez ladite Reine Marguerite. Il est vrai qu'ils font priés & appellés par une Reine & que les autres ne le font que par une autre Reine de moindre qualité. Je ne fçais pas encore si tout le mystère passera ainsi; mais J'ai voulu vous en avertir par avance, & vous en fçavez la confirmation après l'effet." Villeroy to Boderie, 23 Jan. (O. S. 13), 1609, de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 196-7.

36

"Monsieur,

Ce mot n'est, après avoir accusé la reception de votre lettre du 22 du mois passé que pour vous donner avis de la bonne part & contentement qu'a eu l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre au ballet de notre Reine, qui fut dansé Dimanche dernier, auquel il fut convié par le Roi d'Assister, & la femme par la Reine. Ils eurent leurs places & seances derriere les chaifes de leurs Majestés. Le Roi, outre cela, favorisa d'une autre grace particulière leur présence, qui est du part de l'ordre de la Jarretiere, dont ledit Ambassadeur se sentit tres-honoré. Il étoit seul Ambassadeur en cette compagnie, qui fut la première à l'Arfenal. Le Nonce les Ambassadeurs d'Espagne & de Venise furent au logis de la Reine Marguerite où ces deux derniers eurent quelques prises assez après, pour les titres qu'ils se donnerent, dont le Nonc fut extremetteur & mediateur. Celui d'Angleterre fit plusieurs admirations, tant de la gentillesse du ballet que de la magnificence d'icelui; & il n'aura manqué, je m'assure, à en rendre très-bon compte à son maître; ce qui se doit danser par-delà, ainsi que depuis peu M. Carrew nous a assurés de nouveau que vous y feriez traité & accueilli à votre contentement. J'oubliois à vous dire le Vicomte de Crambourn se trouva aussi audit ballet & qu'il fortit très-fatiffait." Puisieux to Boderie, 6 Feb. (O. S. Jan. 27), 1608-9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 211, 2.

37

"La Reine n'a encore dansé son ballet à cause de l'indisposition de la Reine Marguerite & de M. de Sully. S. M. a fait prier l'Ambassadrice d'Angleterre de le voir à l'Arfenal, où son mari a été convié aussi par

M. de Sully avec le Vicomte de Crambourn & ses deux beaux freres. L'on dit que ce fera pour demain, & il sembla que la Reine a grande envie d'en être déchargée." Villeroy to Boderie, 24 Jan. (O. S. 14), 1609, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 209.

38

"Don Ferdinando Giron, Ambassador-Extraordinary of Spain and Flanders, went to Theobalds, ten miles off, on Tuesday, to take his leave of the King. The day following he left London for Flanders. Thursday was appointed for the Queen's Masque. The Ambassador seeing that the King was determined to invite to witness the dance, the French Ambassador who was omitted last year and had orders from his Master that if that happened again he was to leave the court at once, now undertook to support the pretensions of the Flemish Ambassador in-ordinary, who also had been omitted last year. Don Ferdinando was at such pains in the matter that, thanks to the means he can dispose of at this court, he succeeded in obtaining a partial satisfaction. When the King came to London on Wednesday, Council sat and an invitation was issued to the French Ambassador only, to the general surprise as it was universally understood that I was to be invited." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 13 Feb. (O. S. 3), 1608-9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 439.

See *ibid.*, xi, No. 443, 20 Feb. (O. S. 10), 1608-9.

39

"Avec l'occasion d'un Courier que le Baron de Breffieux arrivé ici depuis huit jours, dépêcha à Paris, je vous fais celle-ci qui est pour répondre à la vôtre du 24 du passé, & pour vous dire qu'enfin l'opiniâtreté de Don Fernandez de Girone s'est laissé vanicre, avant depuis le retour de son Courier qui n'a point passé à Bruxelles, parlé de quitter la place. Dès devant hier il fut licencié de la Reine: hier il dit adieux au Prince de Galles & au Duc d'York: aujourd'hui il est allé voir la Princesse qui est à quatre lieues d'ici; & Lundi il doit aller à Theobalds où le Roi se trouvera sur son retour pour faire le même avec lui, & s'en revenir ici en résolution de partir Mercredi pour son voyage. C'est la vérité qu'il a remué tout ce qui lui a été possible pour pouvoir être admis à ce certain ballet; & tant qu'il lui en est resté, quelque peu d'espoir, il a toujours parlé de tenir ferme. Voyant enfin que cela ne lui tournoit qu'à moquerie, & que son séjour ne seroit qu'à retarder le plaisir des Dames, il s'est résolu de les laisser danser: si bien que Jeudi qui est le jour de leur Chandeleur, ce digne ballet se fera, où je ne puis vous dire encore si je ferai appelé ou non; car je n'en ai pas dit une parole depuis ce que vous avez sçu, me semblant devoit suffire que ceux qui s'y prétendoient introduire à mon préjudice en fussent exclus, & que

pour ce qui devoit être de moi, il y avoit plus de dignité à l'attendre qu'à à le demander. Toutefois je crois certainement qu'ils m'y appelleront, quand ce ne seroit que pour se revenger de ce qui a été fait par delà en faveur de leur Ambassadeur, que j'ai fait parvenir aux oreilles du Comte de Salisbury, mais par autre organe que le mien. Par mes premiers je vous en dirai davantage." Boderie to Villeroy, 7 Feb. (O. S. 28 Jan.), 1608-9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 214-6.

40

"Je pensois vous envoyer celle-ci par un Courier que le baron de Breffieux m'avoit dit, il y a trois jours, vouloir dépêcher tout en hâte; mais comme il n'est pas homme à un mot, & qu'il y a peut-être encore quelque poulet à faire où il ne peut trouver le verbe, j'ai cru ne m'y devoir plus attendre, & revenir à notre voie accoutumée. C'est monfieur, pour vous dire qu' enfin le ballet fut hier dansé, où non seulement ma femme & moi fûmes conviés, mais j'eus l'honneur de souper avec le Roi en compagnie de M. le Prince de Galles le de M. le Duc d'Yorck, & ma femme avec Madame la Princesse Ledit ballet fut fort riche, & s'il m'est loisible de le dire, plus superbe qu' ingénieux. Des que je fus entré auprès du Roi, il me dit que je me souvinffe de ce qu'il m'avoit fait dire par Messieurs de Lenox & de Salisbury, qui estoit qu'il feroit en cette occasion paroître la différence qu'il faisoit du Roi son frere à tout autre Prince, & de moi en particulier à tout ce qu'il y avoit ici d'Ambassadeurs: que j'avois bien témoigné l'affurance que j'en avois prise, en ce que depuis je n'en avois point parlé; ce qui l'obligeoit d'autant plus à recompenser ma modestie, qu'il n'avoit voulu y appeller autre que moi, ni même celui de Venise, voulant que chacun reconnût que, comme il étoit vrai en effet, cette fête ne se faisoit que pour, moi; se jouissant infiniment que les volontés du Roi son frere & les siennes fe fussent rencontrées si conformes qu'en même-temps que S. M. faveroit son Ambassadeur par-dela, il pensoit à en faire ici le même envers moi: que s'il y eût eu quelque grand intervalle entre l'une & l'autre de ses faveurs, on eût pu croire qu'il y est de la revanche; mais que si S. M. avoit été la première en l'effet, il l'avoit été en la délibération, me jutant que dès qu'il commanda ledit ballet, ce fut en intention de m'en réserver tout l'honneur. Je le remerciai avec toute la révérence qu'il me fut possible lui disant qu'à la vérité la nouvelle que j'en donnerois au Roi son bon frere, ne lui pourroit être que tres-agréable, non tant pour l'affurance qu'il prendroit de-la de l'affection du Prince du monde dont il a toujours été le plus jaloux, que pour l'occasion que ce feroit à toute la Chrétienté d'en faire le jugement qu'il convient au bien commun de leurs affaires: que si j'avois apporté quelque véhémence en cette recherche, & forti peut-être de la bienfiance où ma charge m'obligeoit, je le suppliois tres-humblement de m'en excuser, & considérer que l'impu-

dence de ceux contre qui je combattois en cette occasion, m'y avoit forcé. Il m'assura qu'il connoissoit, & me témoigna par toutes fortes de bonnes paroles & démonstrations de bonne chère qu'il étoit très-fatigué de moi. Depuis, tant devant qu'après le souper, & durant tout le ballet, il m'entretint presque toujours; & entr' autres discours, il me chargea de remercier S. M. de sa part des faveurs qu'il lui avoit plu faire au Vicomte de Crambourn, ne pouvant sur cette occasion se lasser de me dire du bien de son père, & de l'estime qu'il faisoit de lui. Après cela, il me parla du congé qu'avoit pris de lui Don Fernandez de Girone, qu'il avoit presque, me dit-il, fallu chasser par les épaules; me défiant qu'il ne sçavoit de quel esprit il pouvoit avoir été mu, en ce que ne lui ayant jamais demandé en toutes ses autres audiences qu'il vouloit aider le Roi d'Espagne à obtenir la trêve pure & simple, il l'en avoit voulu prier en partant: qu'il lui avoit montré s'étonner de ce qu'il en disoit, & lui avoit répondu qu'il étoit trop tard, & que le Roi son maître ne pouvoit davantage différer d'accomplir ce qu'il avoit promis dès le commencement, sans se faire tort. Le Comte de Salisbury étoit présent à ce discours; & l'un & l'autre me témoignèrent reconnoître une étrange foiblesse & irrésolution au conseil & aux affaires d'Espagne. Avec tout cela, si reconnus-je que la demeure de Don Pedro de Toledo à Paris ne leur plaît point; car ledit Roi me demanda cinq ou six fois ce qu'il y faisoit, & pourquoi il y demuroit si long temps: sur quoi ce que je lui pus dire fut qu'il n'attendoit, à mon avis, sinon que le traité des Pays-Bas fût fait ou failli, afin de requérir aux occasions le Roi notre maître d'y contribuer les offices qu'il jugeroit y être nécessaires, mais je crois qu'ils se doutent qu'il y a quelques pratiques attachées à la queue dudit traité qu'ils voudroient bien qui ne fût point. Ce qui me plut davantage en tout cet entretien, fut que jamais ils ne me dirent un mot sur le particulier de leurs dettes, encore qu'il se passât forces choses qui les pouvoient faire venir à propos. Je prie Dieu, qu'ils ne s'en souviennent jamais plus, & qu'il vous donne monsieur. . . .

De Londres, le 13 Febrier, 1609."

Boderie to Villeroy, 13 Feb., 1609 (N. S.), in Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 228-32.

41

"Monsieur,

Par celle qu'il vous a plu m'écrire du 6 de ce mois, vous m'avez fait faveur de m'avertir de l'honneur fait à M Carrew & à Madame sa femme au ballet de la Reine notre maitresse. Par le présente vous sçavez celui que Madame de la Boderie & Moi avons reçu en celui de celle-ci. Hier la nuit il fut dansé, & le jour de devant Don Fernandez de Girone avoit fait voile, après avoir reçu l'arrêt que s'il ne hâtoit de partir, il auroit l'affront que j'y ferois appelé à sa barbe. Comme il

partoit, on m'y vint convier & ma femme auffi, tant de la part du Roi de la Grande Bretagne que de celle de la Reine, sans nous parler de souper; & néanmoins comme nous y fûmes, ledit Roi me fit souper avec lui en compagnie des Princes ses deux fils, & ma femme soupa avec Madame la Princeffe. Durant le souper, il me fit une brinde à la santé de S. M., & voulut que je la portasse à M. le Prince de Galles, & qu'il y fit raifon. An ballat il me fit feoir auprès de lui, & ma femme au banc préparé proche de-la, où étoient auffi Messieurs du Confeil, n'ayant pu demeurer près de Madame la Princeffe pour la grande presse qui y étoit. Durant que ledit ballet se danfa, il me fit toujours l'honneur de m'entretenir; & dans un des intermèdes, comme il n'y en eut que trop & d'assez tristes, la Reine s'approcha aussitôt de ma femme, & lui fit la même faveur, s'appuyant sur elle, & lui faisant mille démonstrations de privauté. Ma petite fille même eut part en ces caresses; car le Duc d'Yorck ayant été pris à danser par une des Dames du ballet, il vint aussitôt chercher madite fille où elle étoit, & l'y mena. La Reine avoit délibéré d'en faire le même de moi; mais comme c'est un métier que je n'entens guère & que je ne voulois faire rire la compagnie, comme fit l'an passé l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, je la fis prier dès le matin par une Dame de mes amies qui devoit danser avec elle de ne m'y point obliger. Du ballet, nous fûmes à la collation; & en tout cela & au départir fûmes traités avec tant de démonstrations de bonne volonté, & avec un applaudissement si général de tous, que S. M. a grande occasion d'en être satisfaite, & moi, si je ne sçavois l'histoire de l'Ane qui portoit les Reliques, d'en devenir bien glorieux.

En la faveur que reçut l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne l'an passé, il n'y eut rien de semblable: il ne fut point convié du Roi & ne Manges point avec lui, mais en une chambre ou pas un du Confeil seulement ne l'accompagna. Le Roi ni la Reine ne furent jamais vus lui dire un mot que le bal dura, & au partir de-là, tout chacun le regardoit de travers. J'ai outre tout ceci, que je fus incontinent après convié à un autre ballet avec toutes les meilleurs satisfactions qu'on me put donner: & de plus que ledit Roi & le Comte de Salisbry ont déclaré & rendu comme public que cette fête ne se faisoit principalement que pour l'amour de moi, Une seule chose m'y a fâché, c'est que l'Ambassadeur de Venise n'en a point été, encore qu'on lui en eut donné dès le commencement de grandes esperances; ayant fait tomber sur lui les Ambassadeurs d'Espagne & des Archiducs, ce qu'ils Gentilhomme est infiniment offensé, Comme il est que j'étois prié & qu'il ne l'étoit point, il s'en voulut escaroucher, & alla trouver le Comte de Salisbry pour lui en faire ses plaintes. La réponse fut que ledit ballet n'étoit fait que pour l'Ambassadeur de France, & qu'il se devoit contenter que celui de Flandre, qui n'avoit point assisté à celui de l'an passé, comme fit son prédécesseur n'était non plus convié à celui-ci. Cela ne le fatifait point; de forte

que si les maîtres le veulent croire, ils lui donneront bientôt charge de faire décider la dispute que lui veut former l'Ambassadeur de Flandre, ou bien de se retirer; & je crois certes que si on en venoit-là, ces Messieurs — ci se trouveroient bien embarrassés.

Tout ceci donne un grand choc par deçà à la réputation des Espagnols, mais en même temps, il est survenu une autre chose qui, comme bien plus importante, achèvera fort de les décrier, c'est que l'Ambassadeur ayant dernièrement, sur l'occasion de la mort de sa femme, assemblé dix ou douze tailleurs tous Flamande pour faire son deuil, ainsi qu'ils eurent achevé, & qu'il leur eut fait donner partie de leur paiement, s'étant délibérés, selon le style du pays, d'en mettre partie en bonne chère, il leur fit envoyer certaines confitures pour les régaler, & trois ou quatre bouteilles de vin, dont s'étant donnés au coeur joie, ils commencèrent en même temps à se trouver mal & le maître de tous, comme celui qui en avoit eu meilleure part, au bout de deux heures en rendit l'ame, le lendemain trois autres, & trois autres encore depuis: le reste est en mauvais état. Toutefois comme depuis l'on a comme la cause du mal, on leur a donné du contrepoison, & on a opinion qu'ils en pourront échapper. Le murmure en est fort grand & fort public part toute la ville: si bien que ledit Ambassadeur, ni aucun des siens ne s'y promènent guere. Et disent les Anglois que s'il y avoit eu parmi ledits Tailleurs quelqu'un de leur nation, ils l'iroient affommer dans sa maison. Je ne sçaurois croire qu'il ait eu part en une grande méchanceté; mais si ne se sçauroit-il bonnement laver d'avoir fait provision de telles drogues. C'est pour la seconde fois, & Dieu nous garde de telles collations.

J'oubliois à vous dire que la faveur de ce ballet s'entendit tellement sur tous les Francois, que le Baron de Bressieux qui se gouverne très-bien ici, & parle certes de ce qui l'y a amené avec grande démonstration de la révérence qu'il porte à S. M, fut mené danser, & mena danser la Reine; comme aussi que le Roi me dit de lui-même, & sans que je lui en ouvrisse l'occasion, infinis biens de M. de Soubise, & nommement de ce qu'il avoit reconnu étant ici, qu'il portoit beaucoup de zèle au service & à la particulière personne de S. M. Je rends compte à M. de Villeroy du reste des discours qui se passerent entre ledit Roi & moi qui me gardera d'en faire redite, pour vous baiser les mains, comme étant, Monsieur, votre très humble & tres-affectionné serviteur.

De Londres, le 13 Fevrier, 1609."

Boderie to Puisieux in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 233.

42

"After o^r verie heartie comendations unto yo^r verie good Lo^rp: &c: Whereas by vertu of his ma^{ty}s warrant bearing date the 4th of March 1609 yo^r Lo^rp is required and authorized to issue so much of his ma^{ty}s treasure at such tymes and by such proportions as we shall require

under our handes and to such p̄sons as we shall affigne to receue the same for the defraying of the charges appertaining to the Queens Ma^{ty} Maske: these are therefore verie hartily to pray yo^r good Lo^{ty} that yo^e would be pleased to give ower that this gent: M^r Inego Johnes may receave two hundreth pounds more by way of Imprest towards the necessary pvissions to be made by him for the p̄formance of that imployment. And in the meane tyme we rest as ever

Yo^r good Lo^{ty}: most assured Loving
friends to remaine

25th of Maye 1610

T Suffolke E Worcester."

In *State Papers Domestic James I*, liv, No. 74.

43

"I was also invited to a masque given by the King and to a jousting match; and this will prove of great advantage to the prestige of this office, for I had observed that on various occasions neither I nor my predecessors were treated with the same punctuality which was observed towards France and Spain, and that sometimes it was not enough to have endeavoured to secure proper treatment beforehand, for the result turned out quite different from what had been agreed on. On this occasion when I was told that, at the creation of the Prince, the Ambassador of Spain was to have a box and the Ambassador of the States another, I, suspecting some injury, showed surprise that we were not put, all three together, close to the King, or at least in the same box; in a cautious yet firm manner I let it be understood that if I were not treated in the fashion followed by all other courts and as became the dignity of the Republic which is Sovereign over kingdoms and mighty in every aspect, either I would not be present at all, or if I did come I would leave at once. I touched on certain variations which had been introduced at the Court. In this I found considerable help from the private complaints which I had made in the course of conversation with gentlemen intimate with the King, for his Majesty gave orders that I was to be entirely satisfied on this point. The Lords of the Council accordingly sent to me the Master of the Ceremonies and another gentleman, who informed me that the variation had taken place owing to the incompatibility of Spain with the United Provinces. They begged me not to raise difficulties, for they would be compelled either to offend Spain or injure the prestige of the other. They sent me a plan of the place and of the boxes which are to be equal to and in proportion to the royal baldachino, and they assured me on their honour that they would treat me in such a fashion that I should be completely satisfied. I, knowing the King's difficulties and being unwilling to seem little solicitous for the prestige of the United Provinces, showed that I fully grasped their arrangement and that I had no desire to doubt their

prudence and sincerity, upon which I threw myself, in the conviction that all their promises would be faithfully kept. Both the King and Council were highly pleased with my answer, and without any further pressure they have omitted nothing that could conduce to my honour. On the first day the Ambassador of the States arrived before I did and they engaged him in a place apart; after the Spanish Ambassador and I were settled with all our suites in our respective boxes, which were exactly alike in size and decoration, they introduced the Dutch Ambassador into mine, with only two persons in attendance. Yesterday after the Spanish Ambassador and I had been for some time with the King and other gentlemen, we were conducted to our boxes in the ball-room and these boxes were again exactly alike, while the Dutch Ambassador was accommodated with a box a little lower than mine and beside it. To-day at the joust, we two had places apart in advance of the royal seats, while the Dutch Ambassador had a place behind them." Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 16 (O. S. 6) June, 1610 in *Calendar State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 945.

44

"James by the grace of god king of England France and Ireland defendo' of the faith &c. To the Trer and Undertrer of o' Excheqr greeting. Whereas the Queene our dearest wife hath resolved for our greater honour and contentment to make vs a maske shortly attended by most of the greatest Ladyes of the kingdome fforasmuch as shee is pleased that the Earle of Suffolk chamberlayne of our houes and the Earle of Worcester Mafter of o' horse fhall take some paines to look into the omissions and provisions of all things necessarrie for the same Wee doe hereby require and authorize you to yssue so much of our treasure at such tymes and by such porçons as they shall require vnder their hands and to such persons as they shall assigne to receaue the same for doing whereof this shalbe yo' sufficient warrant and discharge. Given vnder o' priuy seale at o' Pallace of Westm' the fourth day of March in the seaventh yeare of o' raigne of England France and Irelande and of Scotland the three and fortith." *Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issue*, Bundle, 141.

45

"On Tuesday the Prince gave his Masque which was very beautiful hroughout, very decorative, but most remarkable for the grace of the Prince's every movement.

The King was pleased that the Spanish Ambassador and I should be present. The Ambassador of the United Provinces was also invited, but perhaps by agreement he feigned displeasure, as he is accustomed to find himself with the Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, to whom

it is unpleasant that by this title of Ambassador other Sovereigns should authenticate the independence of those states. The Queen next whom I sat said that on Sunday next she intended to give her Masque, and she hoped the King would invite me to it. She then said some words in English to the Earl of Salisbury, from which I gathered that they are not pleased at M. de Laverdin's delay which looked as though he had not understood the honour done him by the King and the Prince." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 14 January (O. S. 4), in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 159.

46

"Pendant cette période d'agitation, intérieure, Marie de Medicis s'était rapprochée de l'Espagne. Au commencement de 1611 Elle avait dite à Madrid que volontiers Elle entendrait reparler des mariages pourvu que Louis XIII, obtint la main de l'aînée des infantes et que les deux couronnes conclusent une ligue défensive. L'idée de cette ligue était de Villeroy qui voulait être sur de Philippe III contre le mécontentement possible des puissances protestantes. La cour d'Espagne accepta les deux conditions. Des articles préliminaires signés à Fontainebleau par Villeroy et don Inigo de Cardenas, Ambassadeur d'Espagne réglaient la question des mariages au gré de Marie (30 Avril 1611) Le meme jour, et dans le meme lieu, fut signé entre les deux rois un traité d'alliance défensive par lequel ils se promettaient de se secourir 'mutuellement contre ceux qui intreprenroient quelque chose contre eux et leurs états de même que contre ceux qui Se revolteroient contre leur autorité.'" Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, Tome sixieme, ii, par Jean H. Mariejol, 153-4.

47

"Pour ne pas irriter les huguenots qui élisient en ce moment l'Assemblée de Soumur, les négociations avoient été tenues secrètes. Mais quand Marie crut n'avoir plus rien à crandre d'eux, elle annonça l'accord franco-espagnol dans un conseil où elle réunit les ministres et les grands (26 Janvier 1612)." *Ibid.*, Lavisse, 154.

"Marie triomphait. Aussi passa-t-elle gaiement le carnaval et le carême de 1612. Tous les dimanches de février elle fit danser un ballet au Louvre par les ducs de Vendôme et de Chevreuse et Bassompierre. Les fêtes qu'elle donna, Place Royale, à l'occasion des fiançailles, furent célébrées pour leur magnificence. Elles durèrent trois jours (5, 6 et 7 avril). Le jeudi, à trois heures d'après-midi, devant la Reine, les princesses et les dames assises 'aut échafauds et sous les yeux de deux cent mille spectateurs défilèrent vingt-quatre trompettes, douze tambours à cheval, cinq gaënts avec arcs et flèches, et deux machines, l'une 'fait[e] en rocher et couvert[e] d'arbrisseaux' plus les ducs de Guise et

de Nevers, et les autres 'chevaliers de la gloire' et 'soutenans du château de la Félicité' habillés de broderie d'or et d'argent, portant lansen étandards rouges." *Ibid.*, 154-5.

"Venaient ensuite dix compagnies d'assaillants, menés par Conti, Vendome, etc., et snivies d'une troupe bigarree: écuyers, musiques, chevaux dardés, rois captifs, deux éléphants, deux 'reinocerot' (rhinoceros), un chariot traîné par des cerfs et nombre de machines.

Des sibylles parurent, chantant des vers que Malherbe avait composés à la gloire de la Régente.

La calvacade finie 'les tenants coururent contre les assaillants' A la nuit, après une sonnerie de trompettes, tambours et clairons le feu fut mis au château de la Félicité 'plein d'artifice' et tandis qu'il brûlait 'on voyoit changer plusieurs sortes de figures tout en feu.'

Le vendredi, nouveau défilé. Comme tout le peuple de Paris n'avoit pu voir cette fête, la brillante cavalcade se promena par les rues, sur la rive droite et la rive gauche, jusqu'au Pont-neuf où elle se dispersa. Le Samedi vn courut la bague. La soir, feu d'artifice, salve de deux cents coups de canon, grand feu de joie devant l'Hotel de Ville et illumination de Paris avec 'lanternes faites en papier de couleur en si grande quantité et à chaque fenestre que toute la ville sembloit estre en feu!'" *Ibid.*

48

"A Description of the Sea-fights and Fireworks with other Royal occurrences which were accomplished at the Princely celebration [marriage of Princess Elizabeth] I did not write nor publish this description of Fire and Water Triumphs to the intent that they should onely reade the relation that were spectators of them; for to such persons it will relish somewhat tedious, like a tale that is too often told, but I did write these things, that those who are farre remoted, not onely in his Majestie's dominions but also in forraine territories, may have an understanding of the glorious pomp and magnificent dominion of our high and mighty monarch King James; and further to demonstrate the skills and knowledges that our warlike nation hath in engines, fire-workes and other military discipline, that thereby may be knowne, that howsoever warre seemes to Sleepe yet (upon any lawful ground or occasion) the command of our dread Sovereigne can rouse her to the terrour of all malignant opposers of his Royall state and dignity." By John Taylor the water poet in John Nichols, *The Royal Progresses of James I*, ii, 527-8.

49

"The Memorable Masque of the Two Honourable Hovses or Innes of Court; the Middle Temple, and Lyncolnes Inne.

As it was Performed Before the King, at White-hall on Shroue-Munday at night; being the 15. of Febr. 1613.

At the Princely Celebration of the Most royall Nuptials of the Palgrave, and his thrice gracious Princeffe Elizabeth, etc.

With a description of their whole show, in the manner of their march on horse-backe to the Court, from the Master of the Rolls his house; with all their right Noble comforts, and most showfull attendants.

Invented, and fashioned, with the ground, and special structure of the whole worke:

By our Kingdoms most Artfull and Ingenus
Architect Innigo Jones.
Supplied, Applied, Digested, and written
By Geo. Chapman.

At London.

Printed by F. K. for George Norton, and are to be sold
at his shop neere Temple-barre.

At the house of the most worthelie honour'd preferrer and graces of all honourable Actions, the vertues, (Sir Edward Philips Knight, Master of the Rolls) all the Performers and their assistants made their Rendezvous, prepar'd to their performance, and thus set forth.

Fiftie Gentlemen, richly attird, and as gallantly mounted, with Foot-men particularly attending, made the noble vant-guarde of the nuptiall forces. Next (a fit distance obserued betweene them) marcht a mock-Masque of Baboons, attired like fantastical Trauailers, in Neapolitane futes, and great ruffes, all horst with Affes; and dwarfe Palfries, with yellow foot-cloathes, and casting Cockle-demois about, in courtesie, by way of larges. Torches borne on either hand of them; lighting their ftate as ridiculoullie, as the rest Nobly. After them was forted two carres Triumphall, adorned with great maske-heads, festones, scroules, and antick leaues, euery part inricht with siluer and golde. These were through varied with different inuention, and in them aduanc't, the choice muftions of our Kingdome, fixe in each; attir'd like Virginean Priests, by whom the Sun is there ador'd; and therefore called the Phoebodes. Their Robes were tuckt vp before; ftrange Hoods of feathers, and scallops about their neckes, and on their heads turbants, stucke with feuerall colour'd feathers spotted with wings of flies, of extraordinary bignesse; like those of their cuntry: and about them march't two ranks of Torches. Then rode the chiefe Maskers, in Indian habits, all of a resemblance; the ground cloath of siluer, richly embroidered with golden Sunnes, & about euery Sunne, ran a traile of gold, imitating

Indian worke; their bafes of the fame ftuffe and worke, but betwixt euery pane of embroidery, went a rowe of white efridge feathers, mingled with fprigs of golde plate; vnder their breafts they wore bawdricks of golde, embroidered high with purple; and about their neckes Ruffles of feathers, fpangled with pearle and filuer. On their heads high fprig'd-feathers, compaft in Coronets, like the Virginian Princes they prefented; Betwixt euery fet of feathers, and about their browes, in the onder-part of their Coronets, fhin'd Sunnes of golde plate, fpinkled with pearle; from whence fprung rayes of the like plate, that mixing with the motion of the feathers, fhew'd exceedingly delightfull and gracious. Their legges were adorn'd with clofe long white filke ftockings: curiously embroidered with golde to the middle-legge. The King being come forth, the Maskers afcended vnfeene to their fcene. Then for the works—

Firft there appear'd at the louer end of the Hall, an artificiall Rock, whole top was neere as high as the hall it felfe. . . . All this Rocke grew by degrees vp into a gold colour; & was run quite through, with veines of golde: . . .

At the finging of the firft Song, full, which was fung by the Virginian Priests; called the Phœbodes, to fixe Lutes (being vfed as an Orphean vertue, for the ftate of the Mines opening): the vpper part of the rock was fodainly turn'd to a Cloude, difcouering a rich and refulgent Mine of golde; in which the twelue Maskers were triumphantly feated: . . .

In which Ifland [Poeana] (being yet in command of the Virginian continent.) A troupe of the nobleft Virginians inhabiting, attended hether the God of Riches, all triumphantly fhyning in a Mine of gould. For hearing of the moft royal folemny, of thefe facred Nuptials; they croft the Ocean in their honor; and are here arriu'd."

50

"on monday night was the middle temple and Lincolns ymne mafke presented in the hall at Court wheras the Lords was in the banketting roome, yt went from the Rolles all vp fleet-ftreet and the ftrand and made fuch a gallant and glorious fhew that yt is highly commended. they had forty gentlemen of best choife owt of both houfes rode before them in theyre best array vpon the ks horfes; and the twelue Maskers wth theyre torch-bearers and pages rode likewise vpon horfes excedingly well trapped and furnished, besides a doufen litle boyes drest like babones that ferued for an antimafke (and they fay performed yt exceedingly well when they came to yt), and three open chariots drawn wth foure horfes apeece that caried theyre muficians and other perfonages that had parts to fpeake, all wch together wth theyre trumpeters and other attendants were fo well fet out, that yt is generally held for

the best shew that hath been seen many a day. the king stoode in the gallerie to behold them and make them ride about the tilt-yard and then were receued into ft James Park and went all along the galleries into the hall, where themelues and theyre deuifes (wch say were excellent) made such a glittering shew that the king and all the companie were exceedingly pleased and specially wth theyre dauncing., wch was beyond all that hath been yet. the king made the Maskers kisse his hand at parting and gaue them many thanckes, saying he neuer saw so many proper men together, and himself accompanied them at the banquet, and tooke care yt shold be well ordered and speakes and strokes thanks to the master of the rolles and Dicke Martin who were the chiefe dooers and vndertakers." John Chamberlain to M^{rs} Carleton, 18 February, 1612-3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

51

"The 13th of Feb^r following I was sent by the Lord Chamberlaine (Earl of Suffolke) from his Majesty to the Arch-Dukes Ambafador, Monsieur de Baiscot, with the formal invitation to the mariage of the Princefse that his Majesty (who desireth to performe all things with conveniency) having invited the french Ambafador, & the Venetian, to asist at the first dayes solemnity, requested him to honour the second, or third dayes, either dinner, or supper, or both, with his presence. After some time of pause, his first question was (with a troubled countenance) whether the Spanish Ambafador were invited? I answered (answerable to my instructions in case of such demand) that he was sick, & could not be there; he was yesterday (quoth he) so well, as that the offer might have very well been made him & perhaps accepted. To this I replied that his Majestie having observed that the french and Venetian Ambafadors holding between them one course of correspondence, & the Spanish and Arch-Dukes another, their invitations had been usually joynt. This he denied (saying) the French had been sundry times invited to Masques &c. & not the Venetian, the Venetian and not the French, the Spaniard the like: but He the Arch-Dukes Ambaf:~ never: that for his owne particular Person (as he was Bois-cot) he should think himselfe honoured to be called by his Majesty upon any termes were it to serve up a Dish to the Princefse Table; but as he was the representant of so great a Prince, as the Arch-Dukes (one who would never allow (he sayd) so much as a question or thought of competition betweene him, a Monarchall Sovereigne, and a mean Republique, governed by a sort of Burghers, who had but an handful of territory in comparifon of his mafter; and (as would be averred, he sayd, by ancient proofes, had ever yielded precedence to the Arch-Dukes Predeceffors, when they were but Dukes of Burgundie) he could not be present at the Solemnity. That further hee knew not wherein

he had deserved so ill of his Majesty, as not to have received any countenance or favour in all the time of his residing here, and the Venetian (as he himselfe had bragged) many; that for these, and the like considerations, he would never be received to a second place, or day, after one that should have the first bestowed on him so unworthily." *Sir John Finett's observations*, Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 1, page 1 f.

52

"Or quant au fait présent touchant l'Ambassadeur de Venise sa Majesté fait scavoir au dit Ambassadeur des Archducs qu'ayant le dit Ambassadeur de Venise quatorze ou quinze joins anant le iour des noces fait entendre a sa Majesté qu'il auoit ordre de par la dicte Republique de congratuler aux dictes noces qu'il déiroit faire cest' office le jour mesme d'icelles, & d'autant que pour donner meilleure grace, et manifestation plus ouverte que porte la dicte, Republique a sa Majesté, on luy auoit ordonné frays pour la pompe, et liurées a ses gens aux despens publiés (bonneur que sa Majesté n'auoit reçu de nul autre Prince, et qui est bien extraordinaire et plus de coftume entre les Princes) sa Majesté auoit toute raison de rendre à la dicte Republique la pareille de l'honneur qui par demonstration si signaleé elle luy fairoit." King James to Boiscot, John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis* (1656), 4-7.

53

"Neither was the wife of the French Amb^r cleers of these disputes, for when I had ushered her up amongst the countesses, & left her there to the ranging of the Lord Chamberlaine, he ordered she should be placed at the Table next beneath the Countesses, & above the Baronesses; but the Viscountesse of effingham standing to her woman's right, & possest already of her proper place (as she called it) would not move lower so held the hand of the Ambassatrice, till after dinner the Ambassador her husband informed of the difference, and opposition, tooke it for an indignity, and calling for his wives Coach, that by her departure it might be seen he was sensible, she was by others persuasions stayed, & was at Supper placed beneath the Countesse of Kildare, and above the Viscountesse of Haddington who made no scruple of it, the Lady of effingham in the interim forbearing (with rather too much than too little stomach) both her supper & the company." *Ibid.*

54

"Throughout the whole of these events Spain acts the part of villain of the piece. Both in Italy and in Germany their high-handed procedure caused general alarm among the smaller powers. By the

double marriages they hoped to win over their old enemy France and even to range her on their side. There remained England and the danger that James might step into the position rendered vacant by the death of Henry IV. To meet this danger the Spaniards devoted their powers to rendering James innocuous by flattering his vanity, by making a great show of friendship and by amusing him with negotiations." Allen B. Hinds in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, *Preface*, xviii.

55

"They [Venetian despatches] give the impression that the King was far more strongly anti-Spanish than he is generally credited with being, even at a time when he is usually represented as completely under the influence of Sarmiento and desirous of obtaining a Spanish bride for his son. His steady policy in Europe was to build up a league of all the powers threatened by the overweening greatness of the Austro-Spanish house and to resist the idea of a Catholic world State." *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii., *Preface*, xxvii.

See also Jansen, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, v, 692.

See also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, *passim*.

56

" . . . the loftie maskers were so well liked at court the last week that they were appointed to performe yt again on Monday yet theyre deuise (w^{ch} was an enimicall imitation of t[he] Irish) was not so pleasing to many, w^{ch} thincke [this] no time (as the case stands) to exasperat that nat[ion] by making it ridiculous. on newyearesday was the tilting of ten against ten. The bafes trappings and a[ll] other furniture of the one partie was murrey and wh[ite] w^{ch} were the brides colours, the other greene and yello for the bridegroom, there were two handsome chari[ots] or pageants that brought in two cupids, whose content[ion] was whether were the truer his or hers, each maintained by theyre champions, but the current and prife you muft thincke ran on her side, the whole shew (they say) was very fayre and well fet out. I do not readilie remember all theyre names nor how they were fided, bu[t] bufides the D. of Lennox, there were the Earles of Rutl[and] Pembroke mongomerie Dorset, the LLs chaundos feno [] Compton, North, Haye Dingwell, the L Walden and his brethren S^r Henry Carie and I know not who else the L Horris who when the millitie was on fute and in forwardnes (not knowing she was so well prouided) made tender of himself to the L Chamberlain for this daughter, yf he might be rid of his lady (w^{ch} he thought an easie matter to do) but was reiected now fine rinf of all that heard of yt—the L mayor was sent to

by the K. to entertain this new married couple wth theyre frends and followers, but he making an excuse that his house was too little to receue them yt was not accepted, but word sent back that he might command the biggest hall in the towne: whereupon calling a counsaile yt was resolved to do yt at the charge of the citie in the Marchant-taylers hall vpon foure dayes warning and the[n] there they went yesternight about fixe a clocke, through cheapside all by torch-light accompanied by the father and mother of the bride, and all the Lords and Ladies about the court—the men were well mounted and richly arrayed making a gudly shew, the women all in coaches. I do not heare yet how all things passed there for I haue not ben abrode, only I vnderstand that after supper they had a play and a maske and after that a banquet. . . .

“ M^r Attorneys maske is for tomorrow and for a conclusion of Christmas and these shewes together for the K faves he wilbe gon toward Roifton vpon friday. [before the holy-dayes the french and venetian ambafadors were invited to this maske wth excuse that they could not so well be at the first vpon the mariage night, for avoyding of competition of place and precedence wth the spanish ambafador who had neuer seen any of our shewes before: but the best maske was referued for them, the french seemed to take yt well enough: but the venetian stormed he shold be excluded and the archdukes admitted who he presumed wold not once make offer to take place where he was. from London this 5th of January 1613

“ Yo^r Lo^{ps} to command

“ John Chamberlain ”

In *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxvi, No. 2.

57

“The same day I was also with the agents of Savoy and of Florence & having invited them to supper & to the masque after it the Florentine said that howsoever there passed a friendly correspondence between him & the other and that their discretions might be like enough to keep them from incounters; he must yet protest, & stand for the maintenance of his Masters right of precedence, whensoever he should meet any that would oppose or question it? To this I replied that howsoever his Majesty took no such notice of any that resided here as agents (& not Amb^{es} for their Masters as that to invite them or not to invite them was essential; yet my Lord chamberlaine having told me, there was a table to be both served & sit at in state, was all on the Queenes side, as on the Kings & that if the Agents would come to either of them the first come might make his first choyce, there was no doubt, but his Lordships provident care for his placing at the Maske, would keepe

them out of distance, & danger of dispute for precedence. So they both came but the Savoyard getting the start & siding allwayes close to the Spanish Amb^r was both at the supper & Maske the more conspicuous, while the other kept himself retyrred as Iconofinto." John Finnett, *Philoxenis*, in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class (5) Miscellaneous*, No. 1.

58

"The Arch-Dukes Ambaffador received from me an Invitation the same day that I delivered one to another, and accepted it though he were then (in earnest) sick in his bed of a cold he had taken) both for Dinner and Supper without scruple or question (I will not say without intention not to be at either) but his cold increasing that night with a Loofeneffe, he wrote to me to come to him (as I did) the next morning and there desired his absence might be excused to her Majesty." Finnett, *Finnetti Philoxenis*.

59

"The first of February 1613[14], the Lord Viscount Lyfle; Lord Chamberlaine to the Queen, sent me to invite (in his Majesties name) the French Ambaffador to the marriage of the Lady Jane Dromond to be Solemnized the next day at Somerset House. He accepted the Invitation with humble thanks, as an especiall favour (he said) done to him by his Majesty, but desired (if his desire might be presented to her majesty as that she might not interpret it for a singularity in him, or a disobedience to her pleasure, which rather then to incur he would (he said) lay aside all other respects, and submit his reason to her will) that he might be excused his coming to Dinner and be present onely at Supper and at the entertainment after it. When I had (as far as good manners would allow me) provoked him to the reason of his request (that I might at least glance at it in returning his answer to the Lord Chamberlaine, to procure it the better passage) he would have made it appeare, that a part of his reason was that his Lent. was already entered, and that to be at two meales of flesh together would be too great a sin; but when I had removed that objection, with assuring him that at our great Feasts, Fish was an especiall provision, he came neerer, telling me plainly, (but as to his Friend (he said) *Sub Sigillo confessionis*, who hee knew would carry it no further (that since the Spanish Ambaffador had had the precedence of him in his invitation to the marriage of the Earle of Somerset, he would not wrong the Master he represented to march in the second place, as it would be taken if he should come to dinner, (though many dayes had passed since the other) and that the Queen, and not the King gave this entertainment; but if he might be

pared (he sayd) from the Brides Dinner, at the like whereof, the other (the Spanish Ambaffador) might be thought to have done well to have spared his presence, in regard neither the King nor Queene were there in person (a point, that men (he said) of his representative quality were especially to regard in all such publique solemnities) he could not, nor would refuse the honour of being there at Supper when both King and Queen would be (as he heard) present, yet he concluded, (that riterateing his request, that I would not communicate the formality of these reasons) rather then he would in the least point distast her Majesty, he would (post-posing all other considerations) be there both dinner and Supper. With this signification I returned to the Lord Lyfle (Lord Chamberlaine to the Queene) who communicated it to the Earle of Worcester Mafter of her Majesties Horfe, that he might convey it to her Majesty as he should go with her in a Coach from White-Hall to Somersets Houfe. It hung yet in intention when the Ambassadors Secretary came to me from his Lord with a further exception that howsoever the Queene were pleased, that he should be present both dinner and Supper, he would be bold to prefer this condition to her allowance, that he might not sit upon a Stool but in a Chaire in the same manner as the Bride should be seated. I answered, I thought that would be a matter of no great difficulty. But how (quoth I) if the Prince be there and have but a Stool to sit on: If my Lord Ambaffador were sure of that (replied the Secretary) I presume he would make no further question, but in all beare his Highnesses Company. To be resolved of this, I went at his request to my Lord Lyfle, my Lord Worcester, and my Lord Carew Vice-Chamberlaine, whom I found all-together, and having assurance from them of the Prince his presence with the bride at Dinner, and requesting their Lordships (as the Secretary desired me) that they would not trouble the Queene any further concerning the Ambaffador till the Secretary had been with him, and returned with his final Satisfaction, he repaired that evening to my Lord Lyfle, and propounding the same demand of a Chaire, as he had done to me in the Afternoone; it was resolved he should have one with the Prince, and so ended that difference." John Finnett, *Finnetti Philoxenis*(1656), 16.

60

"The 5th Jan^r 1614. The Earle of Sommerset (then Lord Chamberlaine) notwithstanding he understood how the yeare before the Spanish & Arch Dukes Ambassadors had been invited to the Marriage of him the Earle of Sommerset, & not the French nor the Venetian (for the reasons elsewhere appearing) gave me directions to invite the Spanish and the Venetian (not usually coupled (ut supra) to a Maske of Gentlemen set forth at the charge of his Majesty, & to come at an houre, about

six in the evening to a supper that should be prepared for them in the Council Chamber. They both (with one question of what Ambafadors would be there, & my afurance that I understood of none besides themselves) as indeed then I did not) accepted the invitation, & came the next day at the time appointed). A little before Supper the Spanish Ambafador taking me aside, desired me to deale freely with him, & to tel him whether Sir Noell Caron, the States Amb^e were invited & if invited, what place was intended him, whether in publique neere his Majesty, or in private in some corner of the Roome? I answered that I knew then (& not before) that he was invited, & would be there; But in which of those conditions, publique or private, I could not resolve him. Hereupon he requested me immediately to go to my Lord Chamberlain for clearing of this doubt, wherewith acquainting his Lordship, & he his Majesty, I returned with this afurance, That Sir Noell Caron was invited and should be placed within the Barres neare the King, as ambafadors used to be. To this he made his replye, desiring me to convey it to the Lord Chamberlaine that if Sir Noell Caron should together with him at supper or in any other place then in the King's presence he would use him with all the respects of civility, but in so honorable a place as that, where the sacred Persons of the King Queene & Prince were to be present, he should never with patience see the Representant of his Masters Vafsels & Rebels (so he called them) hold an equall ranck with him. That it was directly against his instructions to concur with him in any publique Act. as an Ambafador, & that therefore it would be better for him (as he intended with the favour of his Majesty) to retire himselfe betimes without noise, then to be forced (as he must) to discharge his duty by publique exception, & protestation against the presence of him (Sir Noell Caron) to the disturbance of so Royall an Assembly, & whereupon I told him (as from my Lord Chamberlain) that his Lordship was informed his Predecefsor Don Alonso de Velasco had stood upon no such Punctilio when Sir Noell Caron had at another time been invited, as now and sate as it was now determined he should; he said, he was most afured there never had been such a concurrence, so as returning from him with this answer, I fortun'd to deliver it in the hearing of my Lord Treasurer, and received from his Lordship an afurance that upon his knowledge, & in his sight, his Predecefsor Don Alonso de Velasco had indured without any exception the placing of the States Amb^e at the left hand of the King, while he (Don Alonso) sate on the right. But this neither would satisfy him, nor hold him from affirming that (not to contradict (he said) my Lord Treasurer, who yet might forget, or mistake in some circumstances) he would ingage his head to be cut off; if there ever had been any such placing, which being againe reported by me to my Lords Chamberlain & Treasurer, they both sent to the King, & debating the businesse with

his Majesty, first in presence of sundry of the Bedd-chamber, & after more in private with halfe a dozen of other Lords; my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord of Worcester (and I to attend them) were sent to him into the Councell Chamber, & there (intreating first the Venetian Amb^ᵉ to pardon them, if they did awhile leave him alone) taking onely the Ambassadors Interpreter, & my selfe with them into a little Roome thereby, my Lord Treasurer delivered the Kings mind to this purpose. That his Majesty having invited him to the Maske, with a mind to give him all content, was sorry that this question should grow to disturb it. That his Majesty went upon grounds of former presidents of the like concurrence in the time of the Ambassadors predecefsors, & that he had for witnesses of it (besides his owne memorie) the Queene, the Prince, and sundry of the Lords, who affirmed they had seen it. That his Majesty having heretofore intertained Sir Noell Caron in that manner, & now invited him as an Amb^ᵉ: he left it to his consideration what injury he should do to abate of his accustomed respects towards him. That whereas the Amb^ᵉ affirmed, it was formally his Instructions not to concurr with him in any publique act, his Majesty wondered that his predecefsor should not have the like Instructions, or having had such, should forget, or neglect to stand upon it that if he had any such, his Majesty requested him, that (reserving other matter, which he in no sort desired that he should communicate, besides that purpose) he might have a sight of it for his fuller satisfaction. To this the Ambassador replied (with many acknowledgements of the honour his Majesty had done him &c.) that first, his witnesses his Majesty had produced were so substantiall, as should he with his owne eyes have seene the contrary, he should not have trusted them in opposition of their Testimony; That if it should be known to the King his Master that Don Alonso had committed such error it would be enough to make him loose his head. That it was true, that in generall instructions received from the hand of the King his Master, it was not intended, but that upon his arrivall in England finding in what condition of respect Sir Noell Caron was held here, he wrote particularly to the King for his pleasure about his manner of carriage towards Sir Noell Caron, in case he should be put to it upon any incounter of negociation, or otherwise, whereunto he had received by letter from his Majesty his will, intimating, that in concurrence of ordinary civill respects, he should use him with all courtesy; but in no case admit concurrence with him in or to any publique act, and that his Majesty should be an eye witness of the letter at his pleasure. The Venetian (who remained in the meantime in the Councell Chamber) having been by the Spanish Amb^ᵉ before the Lords entrance, made acquainted with the difference like to grow, had affirmed to him, that he could himselfe remember, that when Don Alonso was invited (as he was now) by his

Majesty, he & Sir Noell Caron were seated in a Compartment, or place apart, & that Don Alonso did except against Carons sitting in the same place neare his Majesty; he affirmed also that howsoever it might now paise between the Spanish Ambafsador & the States, he himself would not permit that he should sit (allato, his own word) in even rank with him; but all the allegations of the Venetian were held to proceed rather from a spirit of disturbance (forward as his naturally was, to make ill businesse) then that what he said was simply truth. In fine the Lords returning with this Declaration of the Ambafsadors to his Majesty, came back soone after with his definite pleasure thus. That since he could not accord this difference, which troubled him much for the respects he bore to the Spanish Amb^r; he had willed them to signifie to him that he might take what course should best please him; and that if he would not stay the Maske he would take order, that the States Amb^r should likewise depart, to avoyde all further question, about either of their pretences." John Finnett, *Finnetti Philocenis* copied in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous*, 5, No. 1, p 1, 21 f.

Cf. also *State Papers Domestic*, James I, lxxx, No. 4, and *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, 317.

61

"My very goode Lord: the only matter I can aduertife since I wrote the last weeke is the fuccesse of the maske on twelfe night, w^{ch} was so well liked and applauded that the king had yt represented again the foday night after, in the very fame manner though neither in deuife nor fhew was there any thing extraordinarie but only excellent dauncing, the choife being made of the best both English and Scottes: but there fell out an accident before yt began that had almost marred the play, for the Spanish Ambafsador being inuited when he vnderftoode that S^r Noel Caron was likewise to be there he protested against yt saying he was not to be present where a feruant of his masters vafsals shold be couered, or appeare in qualitie of an ambafsador against w^{ch} exceptions there was much dispute twixt him and the Lordes then present and many mefsages paised to and fro between them and the king, but in conclusion he wold by no arguments nor precedents be perfwaded but faide yt was contrarie to his instructions and so retiring himself went backe the fame way he came: wherupon S^r Noel Caron was wisht to retire likewise and absent himself. The next day the Spanish ambafsador required audience w^{ch} was appointed him at three a clocke and was willed to bring his instructions w^{ch} him, but he neither came nor sent that day, w^{ch} vnmannery part I know not how he excused at his next audience, w^{ch} was the monday or Teufday following, nor how he iustified his brauerie w^{ch} is much spoken of, and like to breed

no goode bloude neither here nor in Holland whether Caron made a difpatch the same night. Yt is obserued that the Spaniards braue more nowadayes on the foday then they haue of later time, w^{ch} shewes that they haue some great hopes at hand, or that they prefume as much of others weaknes as of theyre owne strength. . . .

"From London this 12th of January 1614

"Yo^r L^{ps} to command

"John Chamberlain."

In *State Papers Domestic, James I, lxxx, No. 4.*

62

"After I had written my last, I was invited by the king to the masque which was danced on the following evening in the great hall. I went to the council chamber and there found the ambassador of Spain, and soon afterwards one of the masters of the ceremonies. He said that he would go and inform his Majesty that we were ready. When he returned, he informed the said ambassador that the ambassador of the States was present at the palace and desired His Majesty that he might go with us to see the feast; and so he returned to the King with the ambassador's reply. At that moment we had risen from the table and saluted. I noticed that the ambassador was greatly excited. He told me all this and said that he had sent to ask the king's leave to depart, as he was determined not to have the ambassador of Holland in his company. Thinking it a worthy action of a representative of your Excellencies and a Christian to make peace, I told him that His Excellency ought to beware what he was about, as at other times Don Alonso di Velasco, his predecessor, and the Illustrious Correr, who was my predecessor, had been with the Dutch Ambassador in public, although there was certainly some distance between them. After some dispute the ambassadors of Spain and Venice entered two boxes simultaneously, one on the right and one on the left of His Majesty, and a little while after the ambassador of Holland entered the Venetian box. He listened to me attentively, and showed that he valued and would observe my advice. Seeing that the hall was quite full and that every one was looking on, I said that it would be as well to withdraw to another place, and so we did. After we had sat down, he asked me, being very undecided, to advise him. I told him that he ought to tell the king he ought not to suffer rules to be laid down in his own house, that he was ready to give every satisfaction to His Majesty, and for that purpose he had come as the ambassador of the States, that he might be welcome, but not to take a subordinate or a somewhat inferior place. He asked me if I advised him so and if I thought it was fitting. He suggested

that the ambassador had orders from his king not to appear with him. I asserted that I thought he ought to do so, as if it should happen that the ambassador of Holland appeared later, sitting in a somewhat inferior place, it would be all over with his dignity. This was my opinion and I added a great deal to the same effect. This moved him and induced him to tell me that he would do as I advised. Meanwhile the Treasurer, the Chamberlain, and the Earl of Uster had come from the king to ask for me; the ambassador asked me what he ought to do; I told him to leave the room and meet them with such terms as courtesy dictated, and so he did. The Treasurer having made a slight acknowledgment to the ambassador of Spain, fulfilled his embassy, and I having seen enough to persuade one to let others alone, did the same. They stopped a quarter of an hour in the room of which I spoke without any results. When they left, the ambassador again begged me for an interview and once more asked for my advice. I repeated the same opinions as before. He seemed inclined to follow my advice and to desire that I should use my influence, and so I left him. The same persons returned once or twice who had previously come for me, and all accompanied me with terms of great honour to a small room full of lords and ladies, saying that the ambassador of Spain did not feel well and that he had left. Their Majesties arrived almost immediately and the prince and they went in to the masque, where I was alone, because neither the Spanish nor the Dutch ambassador had gone in there. When the Queen, whom I sat near, asked me about it, I gave her a particular account. She seemed to lean strongly to favour Spain, and made some disparaging remark about the States (*mostrò ella intender largamente a favore di Spagna et proferì qualche concetto a suantaggio dei Stati*). After the masque and the collation I waited on their Majesties as far as their apartments. The Queen entered hers first, and I, in taking leave of the king and thanking him for his favours, told him that I had remonstrated with the Spanish ambassador and was ready to do more. He thanked me and said that the ambassador would not recognise the States to be free. On the following Sunday I had audience, and after a long conversation he gathered complete information. He decided that on the following morning he would see the Spanish ambassador. He pointed out to him that more than once his predecessors had been with the ambassador of the States. He was grateful to me for my good feeling and offices.

"Four days ago I called on the ambassador of Holland. He thanked me and said that he had been present three times publicly with Don Alonso di Velasco and with Sig. Correr, and that he had offered to go if the ambassador of Spain would go also. He enlarged upon many particulars and ended by saying that this showed the evil disposition of the Spaniards, that the States will be on their guard and that God

sometimes shows by little things what is the heart of the great ones. He expressed all this with great emotion and seemed grateful to me for my good offices. The event still continues a subject of discussion, so much so that hardly anything else is spoken about. Everyone delivers his own personal opinion and it is certain that it will greatly exacerbate men's minds and increase rancour.

"London, the 23 January 1615 [*Italian*]."

In *Calendar of State Papers Venice and Northern Italy*, xiii, 317.

63

"The King being desirous, that the French Venetian, & Savoyard Ambassadors should all be invited to a Maske at Court prepared for New-Yeares night, an exception comming from the French, was the cause of deferring their invitation till twelwe night, when the Maske was to be re-acted. This French Amb^g having demanded audience by the mediation of the Lord Haye, and not obtained it, as he affected (having not taken the due course of access by the Chamberlain (the Earle of Pembroke) or being perhaps forgotten) was offended that the Spanish Amb^g (who had demanded one before the Kings remove to Royston, but was referred to his conveniency at his returne thence) should have (as he had) an audience before him.

"With this consideration, & not without his Majesties sence of such formality, he was not invited till for the twelwe night, when he with the other two mentioned were received at eight of the clock, the houre assigned (no supper being prepared for them, as at other times to avoid the trouble incident) and were conducted to the privy gallerie by the Lord Chamberlaine, & the Lord Danvers appointed (an honour more then had been formerly done to Ambassadors ordinary) to accompany them, the Master of the Ceremonies being also present. They were all there present at the maske on the Kings right hand (not right out, but By as forward) first and next to the King the French, next him the Venetain, & next him the Savoyard. At his Majesties left hand sate the Queene, & next her the Prince. The Maske being ended, they followed his Majesty to a Banquet in the Presence, & returned by the way they entered: the followers of the French were placed in a seate reserved for them above over the King's right hand, the others in one on the left.

"The Spanish Ambassadors Son & the Agent of the Arch-Duke (who invited himself) were bestowed on the forme where the Lords sit, next beneath the Barons, English, Scottish & Irish, as the Sonns of the Ambassador of Venice, and of Savoy had been placed the Maske night before, but were this night placed with their Countrymen in the gallery mentioned." John Finett, *Finetti Philoxensis*, 36, as found in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1.

64

"The French Ambassador has taken it very ill that he was not invited to take part in these ceremonies, as reason and custom require, the more so because he knows that this is due to the influence of the Spanish ambassador at this Court. A quarrel is going on between them, and the Spaniard, seeing that he could not have a place himself, succeeded in obtaining that neither France nor any other minister of a prince should be invited." Giovanni Battista Lionello, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate, 17 Nov. [o.s. 7], 1616, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiv, 350, No. 512.

65

"Itm paid to Robert Seymor one of the offycers of his Mat^s Jewells and Plate for the hier of two horfes for himself and his man from the courte at Grenwich to the Cytie of London and from thence to Nonefuch and back againe for provyding and carrying to the Prince a Bafon and yore of redde copper and fixe dozen of bells to be given by his grace to Som of Virginia" Audit Office, *Various Accounts* 385, from feast of St. Michael the Archangel 5th of James, to the same feast 6th of James.

"Sondrye other Paymentes viz.—Sr Edwarde Cecill Knight xxx℥ Sr Robte Maunfell Knight xl℥ Sr W^m Cavendishe knight x℥ and Richard Martin Elqr. xx℥, to be putt into the lotterie for Virginia by warr^t under the privie seale dated the xxvjth of June 1612, C℥." Audit Office, *Declared Accounts, Privy Purse*, B. 2021.

66

"A ship has arrived here from Virginia which has caused universal rejoicing by the news of success. It appears that the soldiers of the colony have inflicted a great defeat upon the King of Poitan, and have taken prisoner one of his daughters by reason of which he has offered friendship, peace and the knowledge of some rich gold mines. This he has already done, and vessels are being prepared to strengthen the colonists with new blood." Antonio Foscarini, to the Doge and Senate, 9 Aug. [o. s. 31 July], 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, 22, No. 42.

67

"He [the Earl of Arundel] also told me that he had heard from England that their expedition to Virginia had proved a great success and that some ships had recently returned bringing merchandise of considerable value, so that many others who had been somewhat discouraged from making that voyage how hastened to do so with the greatest zeal, hoping to have a ready and safe traffic with the savage inhabitants of

that country because they had a daughter of their King, and in the capitulations for her restitution it had been agreed that all the arms which those savages had taken from some of the English should be restored and that they should also give up other Englishmen who had been joined with them." Earl and Countess of Arundel's statements reported by Barbarigo to the Venetian cabinet 9 Sept. [o. s. Aug. 31], 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, 40, No. 82.

68

"The Catholic ambassador here goes about assuring everybody that his King is bent on peace which will assuredly be effected and that by this time it will have been realised in all quarters, the orders sent to this effect from Spain to Italy, to the ministers there, being most peremptory. Only the day before yesterday he expressed himself to me in these self same terms when I chanced to meet him at a masque, performed at the Court by the Prince, to which, as the French ambassador was not invited, he has complained and protested loudly and says that the dignity of his king being so deeply outraged he considered his recall certain and he resents the proceeding by so much the more because the marriage with Spain being now on the carpet, it seems that by this demonstration they sought to show that the Prince inclined more towards that side than to the other. Here however they pretend that there is no reason for such great complaint, as it has always been the custom to invite the ministers of these two crowns alternately to such public entertainments." Piero Contarini to the Doge and Senate, 18 Jan. [o. s. 8], 1618, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, 106, No. 178.

69

"It is remarkable that James never seemed to perceive how entirely the Spanish offers of a marriage alliance depended upon the general situation in Europe. It was a fixed object of Spanish policy to maintain peace with England at any reasonable cost. England single-handed could do more to disturb them than any other power whatsoever said the Duke of Savoy (No. 641). Caron marvelled that the Spaniard should inspire with respect and fear the one who should fear them least (No. 784). The Spaniards did not desire the alliance, but if English neutrality could not be secured by other means, they were prepared to make the sacrifice. In the mean time the negotiations served to keep James amused and out of mischief." Allen B. Hinds in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xv, Preface, xxxviii-ix.

70

"A Mask prepared for Tweltyde (wherein the Prince was to be a principall Actor) and that his first exercise in that kind) was a subject for

the King to invite to it the Spanish Amb^l and to observe the promise his Majesty had made him the year before to that purpose, the rather because a Marriage between the Prince & the Infanta was then in Treaty. The French Ambafador in the mean time being left with little or no regard of satisfaction given, or sought to be given him, either by private excuse or otherwise. At which neglect (as he understood it) he took such shadow & offence, as repairing to Court, & demanding (as unseasonably as perhaps impatiently) access to his Majesty, was entertained by one or two Lords of the Bedd-Chamber (whom he that instant encountered) with as satisfactory reasons as they could frame for diversion, but with little effect, though Sir Thomas Edmons (comptroller of his Majesties House, who had been in France Ambafador) were (together with the Master of the Ceremonies, sent to him immediately after to the same purpose of modification; so as standing first upon his Masters right of Priority before any other Kings) particularly before that of Spaine) and affirming that he could prove by many Presidents of our own, that if the Spanish Amb^l were ever heretofore present at any such entertainment or Solemnity at Court, it was by the French Ambafadors permission, when either he would not be there, or that he was sent to by his Majesty with intreaty to excuse his absence; He at last threatened to make protestation against the wrong done his Master in his Ambafadors Person. But his threatening little it seems regarded by his Majestie (who was resolved upon his course for entertainment of the Spanish) was a cause of the French Ambafadors sending his Secretary Post into France with the account of the King's & his own proceeding, and of the letters that came shortly after with his Revocation (before his three years residence (wanting but a quarter) were expired; for which demanding an audience the 16 of March, & having it granted (or the next day he after two hours attendance, had it of his Majestie in the Privie Gallery, and within few dayes after departed the Kingdome. The ill understanding between his Majestie & this Amb^l was an occasion that Master Secretary Lake sent for me, & acquainted me with the trouble his Majestie had put himself to, to make apparent the little reason the French Amb^l had to except so, against his proceeding, which to Justifie his pleasure was (he said) that Sir Lewes Lewkner, Master of the Ceremonies, & Sir W^m Button, and I Afsistants should search our Notes, and presidents to the purpose of the question. Whereabout I presently employed myself, & sent my Collection (answerable to the time of my service, & of my experience) to Sir Thomas Lake then with the King at Newmarket, but all to little purpose for his Majesties satisfaction beyond that he was resolved on for the Spanish Ambafador." John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneus* 5, No. 1, p. 56.

"The French Amb^l Mons^r de Mareth (having been detained here

by the indisposition of his Wife, or rather for some other cause tending to his more faire loose at his departing three weeks after he had taken leave of his Majesty (demanded, & had another audience whereof he had a quick dispatch, with no ill countenance from his Majestie or shew of insatisfaction from himself." John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1, p. 63.

71

"Now whilst we are thus doubtful what will be the issue of our treaty in Spayne there hath fallen out an accident w^{ch} on the other side hath embroyled vs with ffrance by reason of the discontentment w^{ch} the french Amb^r has took for that the Spanishe Amb^r onely was invited this yeare to the mask he not contenting himself to haue been inuited the two last yeares together, but stood vpon it to haue still that honour donne him to the exclusion of the Spanish Amb^r contrary to that order w^{ch} had been formerly practised of inviting them alternatiuely. And he hath made such pafsionate reports into ffrance of the preiudice w^{ch} hi[s] position doth his ma^{ties} honour hath receaued therby as hereupon there hath been commandment sent hither for his revocation, by w^{ch} means & other disgusts on both sides matters are brought to that ill state, as it will not be so easy to repayre againe. . . . From Whitehall, this 13th of March 1617, T Edmondes."

In *State Papers Domestic, James I*, xcvi, No. 59.

72

"The Count de Illieurs sent to reside here amb^r Ordinary from the French King in succession of Mons. de Mareth (though after almost an yeare & an halfe intermision of that charge) came towards his first audience of his Majesty then at Windsor the 15th Sept^{br}.

"On twelwe day following, the Amb^r and his chiefe followers were brought to Court by the Earle of Warwick to be present at a Maske; he seated as before with the King, the better sort of the other on a foarme behind the Lords (the Lord Treasurer onely and the Marquese of Hamilton sitting at the upper end of it) and all the rest in a Box, & in the best place of the Scaffolds on the right hand of his Majesty, No other Ambassadors were at that time present or invited." Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1, p. 84.

73

"The Players heere were bringing of Barnevelt vpon the stage & had bestowed a great deale of mony to prepare all things for the purpose, but as things stand were prohibited by my Lo of London. . . .

" 14 Aug 1619

"Yo^r L^{ps} faythfull servant

"Th: Locke"

In *State Papers Domestic, James I*, cx, No. 18.

"Our players haue found the meanes to goe through wth the play of Barnevelt & it hath had many spectators & receaued applaue yet some say that (according to the proverbs) the deuill is not so bad as he is painted & that Barnavelt should perswade Ledenberg to make away himself (when he came to see him after he was prisoner) to prevent the discou'ie of the plott, & to tell him that when they were both dead (as though he meant to do the like) they might lift it out of their ashes, was thought to be a point strayned, when Barnevelt understood of Ledenbergs death he comforted himself w^{ch} before he refused to do, but when he perceaveth himself to be arested then he hath no remedie but with all speede biddeth his wife send to the Fr. Amb^r &c

"27 Aug 1619

Th Locke."

In *State Papers Domestic, James I*, cx, No. 37.

74

"The fr. Amb^r was verie solemnly feasted the 20 of this present at Whitehall by the Duke of Lenox, where both Marq: Buck: & Marq. Hambleton & all the great Lords about the towne were present a play prepared but he stayed not till it was half done, yesterday he went from hence. . . .

"from the great Almr^e, this 22 of May 1619. . . .

"Th Locke"

In *State Papers Domestic, James I*, cix, No. 42.

"After supper they weare carried to the Queenes pryuy chamber where french finging was by the Queenes musitians; after in the Queenes bedd chamber they heard the Irish harpp, a violl & Mr Lanyer, excellently finging & playinge on the lute. In the kinges greate chamber they went to the play, of Pirrocles of Tyre, w^{ch} lasted till 2 alocke after 2'actes the players ceafed till the french all refreshed them wth sweetmeates brought on chinay bowlees & wyne & ale in botteles after the players begann anew. The Imbassadour pted next morninge for fraunce at 7 alocke full well pleased being feasted also at Tibballes & exceedinge graciously vfed of the kinge. . . .

"London Munday 24 May veheri . . .

"Yo^r Lo: affuredly to commande

"Gerr: Herbert"

In *State Papers Domestic, James I*, cix, No. 46.

75

"When it was thought that the Spanish Amb^r would have held it an indignity, & wrong to his Master, to be present at a Maske seen before

by a French Amb^r (as the last, & the same Maske had been by the Marshall de Cadenet at Twelfetide) he appeared at it on Shrove-Sunday seated at the left hand of his Majesty under the state) different from what had been formerly resolved on, that no Amb^r in regard of their troublesome Puntillious) should any more sit so with his Majesty) and had his family placed over a Box at the Kings right hand, in which were placed the Spanish Ambafadors two Sons together with the arch Dutcheis Agent." John Finett, in *Finetti Philoxenis*, Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1, p. 86.

76

"For Shrove-Tuesday following, I carried them, [Commissioners from the States of the United Provinces], from the King an Invitation to a Maske of the Gentlemen of the Middle-Temple to be represented in the Hall of the Court, whether I was appointed to conduct them in one of the Kings Coaches, with Order to be in the new Councill Chamber (on the deceased Queens side, which had been her Privy Chamber) at seaven of the clock without preparation (other then of Bread & Wine for Collation) I bestowed their followers on a Scaffold on the Kings right hand, and in a Box under (purposely reserved from them) themselves together with Sir Noell Caron the Ambafador. The Maske ended I brought them (by direction) to the King, whom they had not yet at that time seen) whence following his Majesty (without his notice yet taken of them (till they came to the Guard Chamber, he there saluted them, & had their attendance to the Banquet there, & after in the Privy Gallery, gave them all the good night." John Finett, in *Finetti Philoxenis*, Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1, p. 87.

77

"Twelftide appearing, & a Maske being to be presented by the Prince and other Lords & Gentlemen, my Lord Chamberlaine gave me in charge to repaire to the Venetian Amb^r, Seignieur Girolenio Landi with this mefsage as from himselfe (with request of his secrecy) that whereas he had told him 2 or 3 dayes before that no Amb^r should be invited to the Maske (as the King had signified his intention) he perceived that the Spanish Amb^r (the Count of Gondemar) had underhand pressed his Majesty to be invited, so as not to appear to have doubled with him in what he had told him, he bade me let his Excellency know, that if he would for forme sake be invited & frame some excuse for his not coming, he would himselfe (as from his Majesty) send him an invitation. But if he would be really invited & come, his request should be, that he would make his way to it by the Marquis of Buckingham.

“When I had delivered this Mefage to the Amb^ſ in hearing of his Secretary (whom he called in) he made answer, that for excuse of his not comming (though for forme invited) he would never give that advantage to the Spanish Ambafador to say of him, that one day he would be well, & another ill for his satisfaction (as he knew some had been) as if he stood in awe of him; and for the other point of his making his way by the Marqueſ of Buckingham, he would never do it, ſince he had alwayes (he ſaid) made his acceſs to his Majeſties Preſence by the right door of the Lord Chamberlain, & would now enter by no other. But ſince he ſaw (he ſaid) what this tenderneſs meant, he deſired me to intreat his Lordſhip in his name, that he would be pleaſed to go directly to his Majeſty, and by way of remembrance (no otherwiſe) put him in mind from him, that the laſt year the French Amb^ſ Extra^ꝝ Monsieur de Cadenet, & the Ordinary Monſ^ſ de Tilliers were invited to the Prince his Maſke at Christmas, & the Spaniſh Amb^ſ to the ſame Maſke repeated at Shrovetide, to which he could & might juſtly have taken exceptions, that he was both times omitted, but that the King of Bohemia's Amb^ſ being not then (no more than he) invited, he was content to ſuffer with him; but that now (though he might in reaſon expect that he ſould be) as in his turne invited alone, he would not be ſo punctuall but would refer all to his Majeſties pleaſure, yet if any other amb^ſ ſhould be invited he would expect the like honour, as a reſpect due to the Prince & ſtate he represented, who in all publicke places had & were to have entertainment il par delle teſte Coronate equall with crowned Kings, And as for the Spaniſh Amb^ſ (he ſaid) his preſence at a Maſke ſhould not be an excluſion to him) with whom though he had no correſpondency of buſineſs nor viſits, he had yt of ſalutation & civill reſpects, which had many times in incounters in the ſtreets, paſſed between them, and might & ſhould paſs on his part at the Maſk, if he ſhould there meet him. This meſage returned by me to the Lord chamberlaine & ſeconded at the ſame time by the Ambafadors Secretary, & my Lord conveying it to the King, his Majeſty was pleaſed that he ſhould be (as he was the next day) invited, & was at the Maſke entertained with the like reſpect as was the Spaniſh Ambafador.

“The States Ambafadors were not at the ſame time invited with reſpect to the incompatibility between them & the Spaniſh, & the Ruſſian then here might then with as little reaſon expect it, in regard he had queſtioned precedence of all other kings miniſters.

“The French Amb^ſ had an invitation pro forma tantum, with a civill requeſt of his next comming to avoid queſtion, which it ſeemes, he tooke not with diſcontent, becauſe his wife & niece were there preſent invited.” In Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1, 96 f.

78

“ The night following was represented a Maske, acted the Christmas before by the Prince &c. at which were present (seated with his Majesty) the Spanish Ambassadors Don Carlos de Colonna, and the Count de Gondemar, though this had taken his leave 3 or 4 dayes before, his Son & other their followers of quality had their Seates neere the King in a Scaffold on his right hand; the rest of them, were bestowed together with the States, & other Strangers promiscuously on a scaffold behind the King, over the entrance there on the left hand of his Majesty. The young Landsgrave of Hefs was brought in by me the back way through the garden, & supping with the Duke of Lenox (as did also the Baron of Paperherin remaining here after the departure of the Emperours Ambassador) was seated amongst the great Ladies. The French Amb^r Mons^r de Lillieurre received a kind of invitation, by way of offer, to be present at this Maske, returned answer, that he most humbly kifsed his Majesties handes for the honour intended him; but his Stomach would not (he said) agree with cold meat, and desired therefore his absence might be pardoned, hereby pointing at the Invitation & presence of the Spanish Amb^r in the first place at the same Maske the Christmas before now repeated.” Public Record Office, Lord Chamberlain's Books, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1, p. 115, May 7. 1622.

79

“ A Maske to be presented by the Prince, the Marquis of Buckingham, & other Gentlemen on Twelfnight 1622 was for that day and a second remitted till Sunday 9th of Jan^r principally with regard to his Majesty's indisposition, but as some thought, not without expectation that the States Ambassadors would first be gone, to avoid the distaste that might be taken from their not Invitation, whereto it seemed his Majesty (for some Spanish respect as was thought) had no great affection. But they staying, (their busines with the Merchants, about composing the East-Indian differences being not yet concluded) divers underhand passages and discoveries for & against the sight of the Maske, were carried to & fro as much as might be to content them, & not displease others. For first they had an offer made them to have a Boxe appointed them apart & by themselves only, which they absolutely refused, Ambassadors Ordinarie before having had (said they) the honour to sit with his Majesty in the same place together with the French, & other Kings Amb^r (as also with the Spanish, till that question fell between him & Sir Noell Caron) but the intention in truth was, that they should not then be invited (at least to be ranked in publick as they pretended it to be their due *al par delle Teste Coronate*) & reasons were framed to keep them off from discontent, as well as from their apparance there,

but they might seem not of the Substantiallest. As first, that the States having given their assistance to the Rochellers against the French King, the presence of their Ministers would be distastfull, & in a manner incompatible *cedem loco, tempore & honore* with that Kings Ambassadors, but this proved not exclusion, the French intended to make no such, having (as he said to me) no order for it, neither had the pretended distasts for the States former assistance yet passed (he said) so far, as to publick notice, and exception from the King his Master. Another exclusion was obtruded upon their pretence of Precedence to the Duke of Savoy's Amb^r but no such Amb^r being now in England, there wanted ground for that exclusion also. The last was against their number, that they could not all there be conveniently seated together with his Majesty, with the other Ambassadors invited; But this Bar they removed by their answer, that if they might have the honour of an Invitation, there should be but one of them present to receive it, esteeming that a sufficient honour to the rest absent. In a word when neither these reasons, nor others would serve to still their exceptions against their not being invited, they were referred to adventure of content, or not content, and so were not at all invited. Onely a dozen of their followers had places assigned them over the Lord Chamberlains Box at the entrance into the Banqueting House from the Princes Galleries. Moos^r d'Arsonnes Son, & their Secretary Sir Constantine Huggins were placed on the fourme beneath the Lords. The French Amb^r that night & the Venetian supped with the Duke of Lenox, & entered the Roome with the King, both seated there on his left hand; the French even with him, & the Venetian somewhat more forward." In Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous 5*, No. 1, 127 f.

80

"My very goode Lord: yt is somewhat long since I wrote and longer since I heard from you till yesterday that I receued yo^{rs} of the 27th of this present, the cause of my silence was the often deferring of the masque and the k's removing caused by his indisposition, for here was nothing to write of but dauncing and feasting w^{ch} was more frequent all this christmas then euer I knew or remember, and continues euer since euen till now, but the departure of the French ambassadors Lady wth her niece madamoifelle St Luc (who bare a principall part in all these meetings) was the cause that the masque could not well be put of longer then fonday last, the french and venetian ambassadors were present and they say yt was performed reasonable well both for the deuce, and for the handfome conueyance and varietie of the scene wherof Innigo Jones hath the whole commendation. Ben Johnson they say is like to heare of yt on both sides of the head for personating George Withers a poet or poetaster as he termes him, as hunting after fame by being

a crono-matrix or whipper of the time, w^{ch} is become so tender an argument that yt must not be touched either in iest or earnest. for old D^r White our prebend of Paules is commanded to kepe his houfe for that preaching there on twelfth night, he prayed God to preferue the king and Prince from any that shold go about to wth draw them from their first loue and zeale to religion, which is interpreted as a kind of libell as yf there were some daunger of such a matter. and now touching libells the report goes there be many abrode, and yt shold seeme the ks verfes I herewith fend you were made in anfwer of one of them. . . .

“ From London this 2[0] of January 1622

“ John Chamberlain ”

In *State Papers Domestic, James I, cxxxvii, No. 27.*

81

“ A Maske being prepared by the Prince (with the Duke of Buckingham & others &c.) for Twelfth night a mefsage was sent from his Majesty to the French Amb^r (by whom carried I could not learne) to this purpose. That whereas there was a Maske towards, and that his Majesty was desirous that the Marquefs de la Inojosa, who had not seen any in this Kingdome, should be at it, he intended to visit him also (the French Amb^r, & in the first place, but would take it, as a respect to his satisfaction, if (to avoid the incounter, & question about their Precedency) he might before hand know, that he would be absent framing some such excuse, as he should think fittest. To this the Ambassador returning at that instant no satisfying answer, he soone after intreated the Earle of March to present one from him to his Majesty in these words. That about two yeares since upon the like occasion, he had received the like mefsage, but knowing how strongly his Majesty stood then affected to the Alliance with Spaine, he would give him no distast, but with excuse of his indisposition kept himselfe absent, that if he should now again do the like, he should in the sight of the world put a scorne upon himselfe, and do an unanswerable wrong to the King his Master, between whom and the King of Spaine his Majesty knew (if he would be pleased to declare his knowledge) that there was no question to be made of the right of Precedence; that in this regard, he humbly beseech his Majesty to proceed plainely, & fairely without using any more colourable or alternative Invitations (as he had done) which might imply a Parity in no sort to be yielded to by the King his Master, in whom was the absolute right of Priority. That if his Majesty intended to invite him, he hoped he would also intend to entertain him with fitting respects, for come he would, if he should be invited, & if he should not, & the other should, he would protest against it, & immediately returne home to the King his Master with the account of his treatment. That further his Majesty would be pleased to consider, that whereas he was at that instant sending

a person of quality to the King his Master, he might with reason expect, that whatsoever want or omission he (the French Amb^s) should meet with here, it would be returned in France in the same measure. This message (the substance whereof he repeated to me two or three days after) was brought little sooner to the King, then it was made known to the Marquefs de la Inojosa, who instantly sent for the Master of the Ceremonies, & in a storming manner gave him a message (repeating it twice or thrice) to be delivered to his Majesty by him in this sense, that he knew what respect had been formerly given the King of Spaines (his Masters Ministers) especially those that had been here extraordinary, & what alternative course of invitation had been used with them & the French: that he looked for no less honour to be done to him then to his Predecessors, & that since it was both his right & his turne to be now invited, he would expect it, beseeching his Majesty not underhand to invite the French Ambassadors (as he knew (he said) he was intended) but to invite him directly, and openly first & only, that so if (he Inojosa) must be made a subject for gazers abroad, it might be to some purpose, and that he might have a Just, and an apparent cause to write to his Master of the wrong done him here in his Minister, with other words in a high Spanish stile to that purpose, which when the Master of the Ceremonies had twice or thrice requested him to temper, to take time to think better of them, & to communicate his intended Message with his Colleague (Don Carlos) he only yielded to satisfie him in this last of communicating his intention (as he did that night with that much more temperate & considerate Gentleman) from whom wresting (as Don Carlos himself after acknowledged) a consent for the carriage of that message to the King by Sir Lewes Lewkner, the Maske was thereupon respited &c." In Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 1, 148 f.

82

"The 4th of Jan^y I received Order for the invitation of the French Amb^s (the Marquefs de Fiat) the Venetian Seignior Pesaro (not long before arrived here in place of Seignior Valereso) and two Agents Mons^r Brumeau for the King of Spaine, and Mons^r Van Mal for the Archdutches) to a Maske of the Prince, with certaine Lords & Gentlemen on Twelfnight. I propounded, & obtained of the Venetian that he would (Sir Lewes Lewkner being then absent) call in his way to Court, & accompany thither the French Ambassadors, that I might with one labour attend them both, and introduce them (as I had directions) by the Parke through the galleries at eight of the Clock at night (the place, & hour assigned also the Agents) but being the next morning, assured by the Prince himself, that the Maske was to be put off till Sunday the 9th of Jan^y I was upon his Highness intimation sent to disinvite them all which I performed with the French personally, and with the rest by

letter. But on Saturday reinvited them for the next Day, when about four of the clock, the Marquess Hamilton, (Lord Steward of his Majesties Household) then supplying the place of the L^d Chamb^l indisposed) gave me in charge to repaire to the Ambafadors, and to let them know, that in regard of the inconveniency that would grow from the intrusion of multitudes of people by the way of the Galleries (if they were left open) he desired they would enter the Court by the great Gate, & thence paſs for their repose to the Marquesses Lodgings, till the King should come by, & take them along with him. This intimation was given also to the two Agents, who had the same order for their entrance as the former but were likewise diverted and conducted to a Roome apart in my Lord Stewards Lodgings, which was so ordered of design to avoid their and the French Ambafadors incounter, not with apprehension of strife for place, their difference of qualities of Agents & Ambafadors clearing all such question, but of distast perhaps to either from their incompatibility; a regard also in placing their followers in severall Scaffolds to avoid differences & wranglings that might occurre even amongst those of inferior condition, if seated promiscuously together in a Scaffold; a provisionable case that the King himself had; and exprefed in that day at his dinner. The Ambafadors were seated with the King (as accustomed) and the agents bestowed amongst the Lords beneath Earles and above Barons.—

“Here end the Services of my place of Aſiſtant Master of the Ceremonies under King James who died the 27th of March following.” John Finnett, in Lord Chamberlain’s Office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 1, 164 f.

83

“For the Enterlude Players.

“We wool and Comaunde youe by thadvise and concentte of our Dereſte vnckell and gouerino^r the Duke of Somerſett protector of oure Realmes Dominions and ſubiects and other of o^r prevei Counceill that vpon the fight hereof ye deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered vnto o^r welbeloued ff^ruⁿts Richarde Coke Richard Skinner Henry Hariott John Birche and Thomas Southey oure Enterlude players and to euery of them theiſe pells followinge. That is to ſaye vnto euery of them three broode yerdes of Redd wollen Clothe for a liuerye coate of fuche prices as the yeomen officers of oure houſholde are accoftomed to haue and iij^s and iiij^d vnto euery of them for the embrauderinge of their ſaid coates with the bres E. and P. on the backe and on the brefte and alſo that ye yerely from henſforthe duringe o^r pleaſure againſt euery feaſte of Chriſtmas deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered vnto euery of o^r ſayde ff^ruⁿts the like allowaunce for their ſayde liuerye Coates and theiſe oure bres ſhalbe youre ſufficiente warraunte and diſcharge in this be-

halfe geuen vnder o^r signett at o^r Mano^r of Grenewiche the xvth daye of februarye the fecond yere of o^r Reigne.

"To oure Truftie and Right welbelouede Counceiloure S^r Rauffe Sadleye Knight mafter of our greate warderobe and to the mafter of the fame that hereafter for the tyme fhalle." In Department of the Lord Chamberlain, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 127.

84

"a liuerie for a Player,

"By warrant

"To George Johnson draper for 3 yardes of Baftard Scarlett for a livery for Richard Perkins one of his Ma ^{ties} Players at 26 ^s 8 ^d p yard—	} 004:00:00
"To Richard Miller for ¼ of a yard of Crimfon Veluett for a cape at 26 ^s 8 ^d —	

In Department of the Lord Chamberlain, *Class Accounts* (2), No. 48. "The account of William Earle of Denbigh Keeper of his Ma^{ties} said wardrobe beginnunge at the feaft of S^t Michael Th' archangell in the 21th yeare of the raigne of our foueroigne Lord King James of England &c and endinge at the feaft of S^t Michael Th' archangell in the 22th yeare of his said Ma^{ties} raigne. 1623 vsq^r 1624."

Mrs. Stopes in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1910, xlvii, 93, says, "as it is, the only notice preserved of his [Shakespeare's] company is in L. C., II., 48, 1623-4," and again on page 94 she says: "In the earliest book preserved of that period, *Warrant Book*, v, 93, 1628-1634, &c." Apparently Mrs. Stopes overlooked in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Warrant Book*, v, 92, in which in the personal accounts of the King's own wardrobe are to be found the following entries:

In the Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous* (5), No. 92 (*Warrant Books*), p. 9:

"George Johnson. Item to George Johnson for . . . Six & thirty yds of baftard fkarlett for liueries for Players—xlviij^d."

Ibid., page 7:

"The pticulers followinge were furnished by you for the seruice of o^r said ffather, by the space of one whole yeare: viz^t from Michaelmas aforefaid Anno Diu 1622 to Michaelmas then followinge Anno Diu 1623; We doe hereby warrant and alloue the fame . . .

"Richard Miller. Item to Richard Miller mercer. . . . One and fiftie yds di of green and crimfon veluett for twoe rich fuites and coates for Archy and capes for Players Liueries lxxvij^l xij^s iij^d."

Ibid., p. 39:

"A warrt for his Ma^{ty} wardrobe for one whole yeare ended at Michas 1624. "George Johnfon.

Item to George Johnfon for three yds of bastard skarlett for a Cloake for one of the players iiiij£."

Ibid., p. 46:

"Richard Miller. Item to Richard Miller for two hundred and fiue yards of crimfon, greene and other coloured velvetts for a Bedd, cheyres, carpetts, Cuppboard clothes, a Beddftoole, Archy his best coate a scabberd for y^e Sword of fstate and Capes for Players Liueries, cclxxx£ iijd."

Ibid., p. 49:

"Wifm Latham. Item to Wifm Latham for . . . nyne and thirtie yds of bastard skarlett for Players liueries liij£."

Ibid., p. 99, from Michas. 1626 to Michas. 1627:

"Richard Miller. Item to Richard Miller . . . for three yds di^d of Crimfon velvett for players liueries . . . iiiij£ xiiij^d."

Ibid., p. 101, from Michas. 1626 to Michas. 1627:

"William Latham. Item to William Latham for . . . fix & fiftie yds of bastard skarlett for liueries for the Players . . . lxxiiij£ xiiij^d."

Ibid., page 151-2:

"The Wardrobe warrt for y^e yere ended at Michas 1629.

"Richard Miller. Item to Richard Miller for . . . fiue yds of crimfon velv^t for Play^{rs} liueries, and the Sword of State vj£ xiiij^d."

Ibid., p. 153-4:

"William Latham. Item to William Latham for—fix and fiftie yds of bastard skarlet cloth for Play^{rs} Liueries lxxiiij£ xiiij^d."

These liveries must not be confused with the "iiij yards of Skarlett cloth" (see Lord Chamberlain's Office, 9, 4, 5) provided to the players for the coronation of James I, printed by Dr. Furnival, nor the "iiij yards" of "black cloth" given them for the funerals of James I, Queen Anne, and others of the Royal family. It was the custom in England during Shakespeare's time to provide capes for funeral processions. Busino, Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador, says: "The other day a sheriff, an official of the order of merchants died and has left a million and a half of gold in ready money. He left directions for a funeral to cost 20,000 crowns: part for the dress of 600 mourners; and above all each of these had a black cloak of fine cloth with certain silk braid of three fingers breadth, hanging from the shoulders and falling nine inches

below the cape, a mourning costume which is usual throughout the whole country": in *Venetian Transcripts*, No. 142, p. 124, *Anglipotrida*.

The regular livery for players during the time of James I was made of "3 yardes of Baftard Scarlett . . . at 26^s 8^d p yard" and "¼ of a yard of crimfon veluett for a cape at 26^s 8^d," costing in all £4 for each player and provided every second year. Unfortunately the warrant books for the earlier years of James I have not been discovered.

An interesting account of how these liveries were sometimes provided is to be furnished by Professor C. W. Wallace when he publishes a suit in the Court of Requests, Charles I, in which Richard Holden, a court mercer, brings action for the recovery of money lost by him in supplying on the authority of one Hooker, one of the paymasters unto the Lord Carew, Vice Chamberlain to the Queen, "caps" for the Queen's company of players.

The "scarlett cloth" of which these liveries were made was "scarlett colored brood clothes," as seen in the court proceedings of the Court of Requests, Charles I, Bundle 78, Part II, in the case of Francis Lloyd *vs.* George Gosness, date 10 March, 12 Chas. I. Complainant says he "was interested of and in three peecs or procells of Scarlett colored brood clothes conteyninge thirty and six yeards p peece or thereabouts eu'y peece whereof coft yo^r subiect here in England fixtie pounds frst penny." The defendant admits that the complainant "was intereffed in three peeces of brood cloathes called baftard Stammells w^{ch} the complaynt calleth Scarlett Couloured." Defendant denies that they cost £60 apiece "for he this defendt affirmeth that he hath feene a note of p^tnerfhipp w^{ch} one Mr Rofe vnder the Co^mplaynt^s hand w^{ch} testifyeth that the said three brood cloathes coft all three of them but fifty & one pounds fowerteene shillings and eight pence here in England."

85

There is a mistaken supposition that the players were "Grooms of the Privy Chamber"; see *Athenaeum*, No. 4298, for 12 March, 1910, page 320. There is a serious distinction between the two positions as will be seen by an inspection of the rank of those in the two offices, privileges, etc.; for example see diet of each in *Lord Steward's Records, Miscellaneous*, No. 30, p. 54 f.

86

Another misconception concerns the matter of the fees of players. The words "without fee" in the quotation in Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous* (5), No. 93, p. 83-127, has been thought to mean that Shakespeare and his fellow-actors, though members of the Household in the capacity both of players and grooms of the chamber,

received no fees for the offices. See *Athenaeum*, No. 4298, 12 March, 1910, p. 320. There is another meaning for the term "without fee." Busino, in his *Anglipotrida in Venetian Transcripts*, No. 142, p. 124, tells us that, "as in the guise of Rome it is customary to make promotions, knighting a mere gentleman; then making him a Baron, next Viscount, Earl and Marquis, and even Duke; and these grades give his Majesty an opportunity of embezzling legally many thousands of crowns." The custom of giving fees for elevation to an office became so well established that a schedule was finally made (to be found in the Lord Steward's Office) of the amounts required from those of various rank, and these were carefully proportioned among members of the Household of James I and to other places needed.

Indeed the King's need of resorting to such devices became so common that it was a matter for amusing comment throughout the country and even among foreigners. Count Gondomar finds it the occasion for a good story to King Philip III, 30 Dec., 1617: "There is not a real," he says, "in the treasury, nor can the small items be paid, it is even said that the coachman and other lower servants complain to the King's face of what is owed to them. When the King was out hunting the other day and was praising the way the hawks flew, the huntsman said they would soon have done flying for they would be obliged to eat them, and if the King had no money to pay them he had better give the order of Knighthood to a gentleman they knew that he might give them something to support them, the King said he would willingly do so & they brought him to him at night and the King knighted him, he asked what his name was, and he said Fish, upon which the King turned round & said laughing that they had deceived him for hawks could not eat fish." In *Spanish Transcripts Series II*, xxxviii.

Not even the clergy were exempt from such payments. The *State Papers Domestic and Foreign*, Bundle 42, contain the fees required from a Bishop on his elevation. In this case it was £333, between \$8000 and \$14,000 of our money to-day.

Cf. also "there was lately speech of making fifty new barons at 6000£ apiece." Chamberlain to Carleton, 5 January, 1614, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxx, No. 1.

That players formed no exception to this rule except when specified to be "without fee" is shown in a document from the Court of Requests, Charles I, to be published by Professor C. W. Wallace, in which the complainant charges a company of actors among other things with failure to fulfil their agreement to make him a "groom of the chamber without fee."

But Shakespeare and his fellows were grooms of the chamber. Grooms of the chamber were allowed a livery made of "ffoure yardes the peece

of cloth of Medley cullour of five shillings the yard" (see Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous* (5), No. 92, *Warrant Books*, I). Besides their liveries these grooms were given an annual fee (see "To nyne groomes of o^r chamber at lij^oiiij^d the peece p^r aⁿn . . . xxiiiij[£]," in *Lord Steward's Records*, *Miscellaneous*, No. 301, 346), to which were added other allowances (see "To the xiiij groomes of the Kings chamber besides their x[£] yearly . . . lxxvj[£] xiiij^oiiij^d," in *Lansdowne MS.*, 164 No. 461), besides Christmas and other gifts from Royalty, (see "By order dated vltimo Nov: 1611. To the ordinary groomes & pages of his Ma^{ties} chamber the summe of one hundred pounds to be devidid amongst them as of his Ma^{ties} free gift & reward against the feaft of the birth of o^r Lorde god next coming 1611 for their paines taken all the yeare before p^r bre dat quarto July: 1608," in *Pell's Order Books*, ii, 39), Ambassadors, and others. In addition to these there are fees varying from one pound each "due to the groomes of the chamber . . . from all persons that are to receive the dignity of the baronet," etc.

The *Lord Steward's Records* show that the "Groomes of the Chamber" were entitled to "iiij difhes and ij mess" "in his Ma^{ties} Houfe" (see *Miscellaneous*, B. 87, 1), "a dyett of three difhes being rated at iii^o id^o q̄ per diem" (see *ibid.*, No. 226, 338). At times the groomes were allowed their "boord wages . . . by reason the table in the prefence and greate chamber was not kepte from whence they haue their allowance" (see *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 386, R. 35). Besides all these, there were numerous other privileges, and in addition favored authors and actors seem to have been given other commissions (cf. Samuel Daniel, who was a groom of the privy chamber, Henslowe, who was a server, etc. See accounts *passim*).

For the greater satisfaction of scientific students of the Shakespearian period, the author would like to include many more documents from the mass in hand, but for the publishers and for the popular reader, the appendix is already much too long. Further confirmatory documents will be found in *Court Masques of Elizabeth*, *Court Masques of Charles I*, and an edition of *Comus* for use in secondary schools, all under preparation.

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